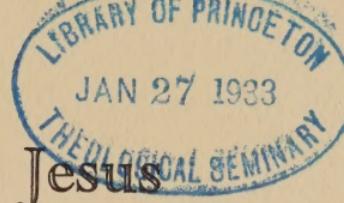


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The resurrection of Jesus

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THE RESURRECTION OF JESUS



The Resurrection of Jesus

A new study of the
belief that Jesus rose from the dead,
of its function as the early Christian
cult story, and of the origin of
the Gospel Literature

BY

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ὅντως ἡγέρθη ὁ κύριος καὶ ὥφθη Σίμωνι

LUKE 24:34

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TO THE MEMORY OF MY MOTHER
LAURA ANN ZACHARY MCCASLAND
1875-1915
AND TO MY FATHER
THOMAS PIKE MCCASLAND
1872—

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PREFACE

The subject of this study is one which might easily arouse apprehension and lead to misunderstanding on the part of the reader. For this reason I consider a word in place at the outset as to the method and point of view with which I have written. I do this in fairness to the reader and also in justice to myself, because the work can only be adequately judged in the light of the presuppositions with which I have approached the task. Therefore, I desire to make it plain that I have attempted to make a full use of the empirical scientific method. This method is well known to the workers in every field of science, but it is not so familiar to many students of religion and to laymen in general. As to technique, it involves observation, classification of data, generalization, and experimental verification of the hypothesis formed. But it also rests upon the important philosophical assumption that the universe is fundamentally harmonious, and susceptible of description and interpretation in terms of generalizations called laws.

Scientific thought has discarded the old dualism of the natural and the supernatural for a unified and harmonious world. It no longer makes use of the supernatural but proceeds to search for explanations which it assumes to be in the natural. It is important to note, however, that the concept of natural has been expanded so as to include the phenomena which were formerly called supernatural. Failure to note this fact is the reason why scientific thought is regarded with apprehension by many persons. The reason for the change from the older to the newer way of thinking is the conclusion on the part of scientists,

after centuries of observation and experimentation, that order and harmony do actually characterize our world. The ideas of cause and effect and evolution are much more efficient than the older dualism in our effort both to understand and control the world about us. The universe which science gives us, however, is no less marvelous than the old. It is alive and the appearance of new forms never ceases. But the ultimate nature of this life is still a mystery and the scientist would be rash to say that his method might not be improved and some time possibly superseded. Yet, in spite of its limitations, this method represents the most reliable means of acquiring knowledge that man has ever devised, and it has been used so successfully in all the physical, biological, and social sciences that it has come to be recognized as the only valid method of attaining truth.

Regardless of our desires in the matter, science has determined the dominant thought-form of our time. It is imperative for that reason that the scientific method be applied to the field of religion. If investigations in this field are to be recognized as valid they must use the generally accepted method of acquiring truth. That is why I have endeavored to make a consistent application of this method to the resurrection of Jesus. In fact, the same approach is being made in our time to the whole field of religion, including such subjects as faith, prayer, God, etc., so that a type of religious thought is being formulated which rests squarely upon the best findings of science. The religious person no longer needs to fear or apologize for his experience, but finds his religion enriched by every advance of science as it reaches farther out into the unknown. To indicate just one brilliant example of this type of thought, I refer to *Religion* by Edward Scribner Ames (Henry Holt, 1929).

The present study therefore is similar to many others which have been, and are now being, made over the entire field of religion, and the validity of them all rests upon the method wrought out by the sciences in every field. When the scientific method is improved or superseded this research will have to be done over, but in the meantime, in so far as I have succeeded in making a consistent application of the method, the results will stand or fall along with the body of scientific knowledge as a whole.

The primary aim of this research is to investigate the narrative of the resurrection of Jesus, but the ultimate purpose is to study the process by which this story finally developed into the Gospels which now stand in our New Testament. It is clear that the Gospels were products of the life of the early church; that the material which they contain existed for a generation or longer as oral tradition before it was written down; and that much similar material was lost because it was not written down. It is evident also that the Gospels were written neither by romancers nor by scientific historians, but by Christian leaders in response to the manifold practical needs of the church of the time. At first the narrative was very brief, but elaborations came from visions, from memories of the life and sayings of Jesus, and from its use in meditation and in the various ceremonies and activities of the church.

The gospel story is thus a narrative of redemption, and should be seen as one of many, in some ways, similar to it that existed in the ancient world. A story of redemption is really an artistic symbol, it is an expression of faith, and as such its meaning for the believer comes to be largely independent of the historical incidents upon which it was originally based. The story of redemption attempted to answer all the problems of the universe for the believer, and represents the earliest type of certainty which has

come down to us from the ancient world. The scientific method brings us a new appreciation of this ancient type of literary expression, and to the person who enjoys music and painting, story and poem, or any other form of art which does not resort to the ordinary modes of matter-of-fact expression, such religious symbols may still bring messages freighted with an inexhaustible meaning.

This volume is devoted primarily to technical questions, and leaves largely untouched the more pleasant task of calling attention to the values of the religion and teaching of Jesus for our time; but I shall be disappointed if this study does not assist the reader to see more clearly the vital character of the Gospel literature and enable him to read it with more discerning eyes and a deeper comprehension and appreciation than he had before. I am well aware that I have raised some problems whose solution still remains in doubt after the research is closed. The hypotheses suggested will stand or fall in the light of future evidence.

Here I wish to record an expression of appreciation to Professor Edgar J. Goodspeed and Dean Shailer Mathews who so graciously gave me a grant for study abroad, and to the *Deutsche Evangelische Kirche*, which through the Institute of International Education provided a fellowship that enabled me to devote fourteen months to study in Germany, from July, 1926, to September, 1927. The study abroad was not only of incalculable value in the preparation of the present research, but it has also enriched my work in the entire field of religion.

It is a pleasure to express my gratitude to all the eminent scholars of the New Testament faculty of the University of Chicago, but I am especially indebted to Professor Shirley Jackson Case, under whose guidance these studies were begun. I am also under a lasting obligation

to Dr. Edward Scribner Ames, Professor and Chairman of the Department of Philosophy in the University of Chicago and Dean of the Disciples Divinity House, not only for many helpful insights into the study and interpretation of religion but also for personal courtesies beyond measure. For bibliographical suggestions and courtesies of various kinds, I am indebted to Professors B. W. Bacon, A. D. Beittel, Rudolf Bultmann, Hedley S. Dimock, George H. Gaston, Gordon J. Laing, L. V. Moore, R. T. Stamm and H. R. Willoughby.

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CHAPTER I

THE CHRISTIAN CULT STORY

Increasing light is being thrown upon the problem of Gospel origins by a consideration of the material from the point of view of its function in the life of the early church. The most fruitful researches in recent years have been made by those scholars who see the beginning Christian church as a vital social movement and seek to orient it again in its own world. This reorientation has illuminated, in a remarkable way, the function of the various literary productions of the church; but the greatest gain has been made in the light that has been thrown upon the processes of Gospel formation. The activities in the church, which placed their stamp upon the Gospel material, have given an entirely new interest to the whole field of Gospel study.

Special attention has been directed to the central importance of the passion story in the early church, as the nucleus around which the Gospel material gradually took its final shape. The German *Formgeschichte* has rendered good service at this point, mainly in the way of calling attention to the fluid state of the material before it was written down as it now stands in the Gospels. The method has been unable, however, to do more than to recognize this period when the Gospels existed in the form of unwritten material, and has not been able to make an adequate contribution to the problem that remains for the investigator after he has reached this point. Bertram's otherwise excellent research on the passion story, in which

he treats the material up to the death of Jesus, suffers from an inadequate definition of "cult." He defines cult as the mystical union of the believer and worshiping community with the cult Lord, such as characterized the Pauline churches.¹ This overlooks the fact that Paul's mysticism was by no means typical of all the churches and that very many activities in addition to mystical devotion and fellowship contributed to the formation of gospel material, and to the life of the church in general. It is correct, however, to consider the narrative of the death and resurrection of Jesus as the cult story of the beginning church.² The interest of this research is directed in particular to the narrative of the resurrection.

The word "cult," as here used, means the Christian movement in all of its aspects—its missionary activities, its ceremonies, and its private and corporate devotional life, experience, and thought. The cult story is always an important feature of religion. In all primitive religions it was the central feature, for it was that body of traditions which was most closely associated with the ceremonials. It was the literary basis of the activities and furnished the interpretation of them. The cult lore was intimately bound up with the sacred ceremonials and partook of the same sanctity. It furnished the imaginative setting which produced the dramatic illusion and emotional satisfaction. It was the verbal expression of the ideational processes. The myth usually was descriptive of typical experiences of the tribe attributed to ancestral beings; and, because they represented real experiences, they were accepted without question from generation to generation. The leader as the determining factor in the hunt or war naturally came to assume importance in the myth, and so the kings, warriors, and heroes, as saviors of the social group, caused an increasing importance to be ascribed to divine men, with

the consequent replacing of the sacred animals, and the anthropomorphizing of the gods.³ In the present discussion, Christianity is not considered as a primitive religion, but the function which the cult myth of primitive religion served is of help in understanding the use which the early church made of the passion narratives.

I

It is clear, in the first place, that the narrative of the resurrection of Jesus was very prominent in the preaching of the early church. The earliest witness to this fact is Paul. The resurrection story was central in his preaching, according to his own summary of what he preached to the church at Corinth (I Cor. 15:1-8). He was very careful to prove by many witnesses that Jesus had risen from the dead. The resurrection demonstrated to Paul that Jesus was the Son of God, that he was given pre-eminence over all creatures; because of it Jesus had been permitted to sit down at the right hand of God, after bringing redemption and salvation and conquering death; the resurrection of Jesus was an example of the martyr's reward, it showed God's great power, and, in short, was the gospel of Christ which Paul preached. We may be certain, therefore, that Paul told the story of the resurrection over and over, wherever he preached, in Syria, Asia Minor, and Europe.

The resurrection of Jesus, as has often been shown, did not have the same sacramental function for many of the early Christians that it had for Paul; but the function which it did have for them was none the less vital for their religious life. This conclusion is borne out by the record of the place held by the resurrection in the early preaching recorded in Acts. At his ascension Jesus told the disciples that they should be his witnesses to all the earth, and that this meant bearing testimony to the resur-

rection is shown by the selection of Matthias, in the place of Judas, explicitly for that purpose. The first great example of this witnessing and preaching was the sermon of Peter on Pentecost; and its central theme, before the assembled multitudes, was that Jesus had risen from the dead. In Solomon's porch, a short time later, the burden of Peter's sermon was the same. For this very reason the Sadducees were aroused to suppress the preaching of Peter and John; and when Peter made his defense before the Sanhedrin, he bore his testimony to the same fact again. Under the stimulus of the persecution, it is reported that the apostles gave their witness with great power. When Stephen was brought before the council, he gave the historical justification of his message, and then, while being stoned, bore his testimony to the resurrection by describing his vision of the risen Lord at the right hand of God. Philip began with the suffering-servant passage and preached Jesus to the Ethiopian. After Paul's conversion, he began, at once, to preach that Jesus was the Christ and the Son of God. The message which Peter carried to Cornelius was that Jesus had risen. The message presented on the mission fields of Asia Minor was summarized by Paul at Antioch of Pisidia, where he said that Jesus saw no corruption. The same testimony was borne by Paul at Thessalonica, Athens, Corinth, and later before the mob in Jerusalem and in the Roman courts. All of this shows that, although the resurrection did not have the same sacramental significance in the Book of Acts that it had in the letters of Paul, the central theme of this remarkable volume is the same testimony.

The testimony of Paul and Acts as to the content of the early Christian preaching is supported by the evidence of the other New Testament sources. The greatest witnesses of all are the Gospels. When they were written, the

passion story, to which the resurrection alone gave validity, had assumed the primary place in tradition, and in the experience of the church. No other conclusion can be drawn from the large amount of space which the Gospels devote to the passion. It cannot be doubted that, where the Gospels originated, the passion and resurrection furnished the chief materials for preaching. It seems probable even that the Gospels originated from sermons which were written down after the original eyewitnesses were dead. At least, that is the explanation which Papias gives for the origin of Mark.⁴ Matthew and Luke are literary expansions of Mark; but that does not weaken the statement that the original tradition took form through preaching. Nor does the absence of any reference to the resurrection in the Logia (on this source of Matthew and Luke see page 131) weaken that conclusion. One might conclude just as logically that Matthew and Luke did not have a resurrection story, since they have the Logia. We simply do not know the history of the Logia earlier than its form in the Synoptics. The importance of the resurrection in the preaching of the second generation is shown by the fact that later tradition gave validity to its practice by having Jesus himself preach his own resurrection before his death, and then open the Scriptures to explain it, after his rising. And the testimony of the remaining books and Revelation is all to the same effect, that one important function of the written accounts, as well as the oral tradition of the resurrection, was to provide the early Christian preacher with his message. That the same is true also of the second century and later is made certain both by the large number of uncanonical accounts of the passion and resurrection which continued to appear and by the numerous treatises in defense of the resurrection which were written by the early Church Fathers.

II

A second use of the resurrection narrative, as well as the entire passion story, was in connection with the celebration of the Lord's Supper. The narrative accompanied the celebration just as was the case in the ceremonials of all ancient religions. The earliest accounts of the Lord's Supper occur in Paul's letters. The sacramental nature of the ceremony is shown by his statement that the bread and cup are a communion of the body and blood of Christ, and by his setting of the table of the Lord in opposition to the table of demons, which was found in the rival cults in Corinth (I Cor. 10:16-21). The celebration had become an orgiastic meal at Corinth, just like those in the cults; and the apostle disapproved of this. He wanted it to be done with proper decency and courtesy. In order to correct the abuses, he called attention to the sacredness of the ceremony by citing the narrative which it portrayed, and which was, no doubt, told in connection with the celebration. He explained how, on the night of his betrayal, Jesus had blessed the bread and the cup and told the disciples to keep the ceremony in memory of him. To make specific just what he meant, he said: "For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink the cup, ye proclaim the Lord's death till he come" (I Cor. 11:17-34). The word used by Paul here is *καταγγέλλειν*, the very word used to denote the telling of the sacred narratives which accompanied the celebration of the cult ceremonies of the time.⁵ There can be no doubt that the Lord's Supper acquired its meaning from the relating of the events leading up to the tragic death, of the triumphant resurrection, and of the expectancy of his imminent return. The incidental way in which Paul mentioned these facts shows that they were familiar to the church. The same custom is borne out, also,

by the record in the Book of Acts. The disciples "continued steadfastly in the apostles' teaching and fellowship, in the breaking of bread and the prayers" (2:42-46). In Troas the disciples met on the first day of the week to break bread and "Paul discoursed with them, intending to depart on the morrow; and prolonged his speech until midnight . . . and when he was gone up, and had broken the bread, and eaten, and had talked with them a long while, even till break of day, so he departed" (20:7-12). There can be no doubt, on the basis of the practice in Corinth, that, in all these assemblies to break bread, which were maintained so steadfastly, the story which constituted the heart of Paul's gospel was told over and over, just as it had been received.

The Gospels themselves bear out this same conclusion. It is to be presupposed that the records of the institution of the Supper preserved in the Gospels were the accepted accounts in the circles where the various Gospels were used; and that the celebration of the ceremony would be prepared for and explained by the reading of the authentic record of its institution, and of the whole passion story, when time permitted. That was true, at least, in Justin's day.⁶ Now, in the Gospel of Mark, as well as in Matthew and Luke, which follow Mark, the narrative of the institution of the Supper has become the very frontispiece of the whole passion story; so that all that is told in the story is presented by the Supper in symbol (14:12 ff.). The two are inextricably bound up together. The institution is filled with meaning by the story; and the narrative of the Supper was naturally read in connection with the whole passion story. Mark introduces the narrative of the Supper with the anointment for burial and closes it with the prediction of the resurrection, showing how closely the narrative of the resurrection was connected with the cele-

bration. It cannot be mere accident that the material has this careful arrangement. It represents, no doubt, the procedure which was followed in the worship on the first day of the week, in the churches where the Gospel of Mark came into form.

It is well recognized that John has revised all the Synoptic teaching about the institution of the Lord's Supper. In his Gospel the meal at which Jesus instituted the Supper, as related by the other Gospels, is neither the Passover nor the Supper, but has become simply an ordinary meal which Jesus ate with the disciples on the evening before the Passover (13:1-38). John has placed his account and interpretation of the Supper far earlier in his Gospel (6:1-71), so that, just as the Supper is the frontispiece of the passion story in the Synoptic Gospels, it becomes really the frontispiece for his entire Gospel. The Gospel is constructed with reference to the feasts of the Jewish year, and the appropriate Christianization of each of them is given. It is plain that, although the last Passover has disappeared from John and Jesus was crucified on Passover Day, as the Passover lamb, John presents the Supper as the true Christian Passover. That is very appropriate, in view of his making Jesus the Passover lamb, and of his interpretation of the Supper as eating the body and drinking the blood of the Son of Man. That is the Christian Passover. How essential was the passion story, especially the resurrection, for an understanding of the Johannine point of view is shown by the teaching about the bread of life, and that one must eat the body in order to have life. The whole conception here is one that has been reached in the light of the resurrection faith, which has been projected back into the life of Jesus, so that from the very beginning of the world Jesus was the Resurrection and the Life. He had come into the world to bring this

life to men, and would give it to those who were reborn by water and the Spirit and were nourished by the sacramental feasting upon his body and blood.

Passing to the apostolic fathers, we find Ignatius urging frequent assemblies, at which, no doubt, the Supper was celebrated.⁷ He makes a very intimate connection between the passion and the Supper. He says, "they do not confess that the Eucharist is the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ who suffered for our sins, which the Father raised up by his goodness."⁸ But the most significant passage of all in Ignatius is, "breaking one bread, which is the medicine of immortality, the antidote that we should not die, but live forever in Jesus Christ."⁹ So, although Ignatius gives us no account of the actual observance of the Eucharist in his day, the intimate connection which he makes between it and the passion, and, especially, the sacramental potency, as an antidote against death and for imparting immortality, shows how fundamental the resurrection narrative was for his view and for the interpretation of it by his churches.

According to the *Didaché*, thanks are to be given for the "life and knowledge which thou didst make known to us through thy child . . ."; "us thou hast blessed with spiritual food and drink and eternal light through thy child . . ."; "come together on the Lord's day of the Lord, break bread and hold Eucharist."¹⁰ The day of the resurrection was the day designated specifically for the Lord's Supper; and that naturally implied telling the story which gave that day its meaning.

Another witness to the same primitive custom of observing the Eucharist on the Lord's Day, probably, is Pliny, who writes to Trajan that the Christians were accustomed to meet on a stated day before it was light for worship, "after which it was their custom to depart and

to meet again at a common innocent meal.”¹¹ But one of the most important witnesses of all is Justin, who describes a service of worship according to the custom of his day.¹² No one was to be admitted to the celebration save those “who had been washed with the washing that is for the remission of sins, and unto regeneration, and who is so living as Christ had enjoined”; and the authority for the ceremony was drawn from the account in the “memoirs of the apostles, composed by them, which are called gospels”; while the significance of the Eucharist is shown by, “so likewise have we been taught that the food which is blessed by the prayer of his word, and from which our blood and flesh by transmutation are nourished, is the flesh and blood of that Jesus who was made flesh.” At this service on the day called Sunday, “the memoirs of the apostles or the writings of the prophets are read so long as time permits.” “Sunday is the day on which we all hold our common assembly, because it is the first day on which God, having wrought a change in darkness and matter, made the world; and Jesus Christ our Saviour on the same day rose from the dead. For he was crucified on the day before that of Saturn; and on the day after that of Saturn, which is the day of the Sun, having appeared to his apostles and disciples, he taught them these things, which we have submitted to you also for your consideration.” There could hardly be clearer evidence than these express statements of Justin to show how great was the functional value of the resurrection narratives in his day for the celebration of the Eucharist.

III

Another central Christian ceremony was baptism; and the narrative of the passion and resurrection was just as vital for its proper celebration as it was for the Supper.

That was true at least for the Pauline churches. Paul wrote,

We who died to sin, how shall we any longer live therein? Or are ye ignorant that all we who were baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death? We were buried therefore with him through baptism into death; that like as Christ was raised from the dead through the glory of the Father, so we also might walk in newness of life. For if we have become united with him in the likeness of his death, we shall be also in the likeness of his resurrection; knowing this, that our old man was crucified with him, that the body of sin might be done away, that so we should no longer be in bondage to sin; for he that hath died is justified from sin. But if we died with Christ, we believe that we shall also live with him; knowing that Christ being raised from the dead dieth no more; death no more hath dominion over him. For the death that he died, he died unto sin once: but the life that he liveth, he liveth unto God. Even so reckon ye also yourselves to be dead unto sin, but alive unto God in Christ Jesus.¹³

Without a knowledge of the resurrection narrative this teaching of Paul would be incomprehensible. The narrative was necessary, in the first place, as a basis for the thinking of Paul; and, in the second place, to enable the readers to understand his terminology. The statements involve a knowledge of the crucifixion, death, burial, resurrection, and of the ascension to the right hand of the Father. It is indeed from this imagery that we learn most about Paul's own knowledge of the passion story, and we may be certain that he made use of the story when he baptized his converts. The narrative attained ever increasing and widening value as the gentile mission made its way into Asia Minor and Europe.

The record of early preaching, as already shown, bears out the conclusion that is reached above with regard to Paul. The central content of the Christian sermon was the story of the cross and the resurrection. That was the word of the Lord. By it converts were made in multitudes,

if the account in Acts is at all reliable. And the convert was never really a Christian until he had been baptized. So much emphasis was placed upon baptism that it was usually performed immediately, regardless of the time of day or night, while the facts of the story that had been told were fresh in the convert's mind. We read of the lone Ethiopian on the wilderness road, that Philip began with the suffering-servant passage of Isaiah and "preached unto him Jesus. And as they went on the way, they came unto a certain water; and the eunuch saith, Behold, here is water; what doth hinder me to be baptized? And he commanded the chariot to stand still: and they both went down into the water, both Philip and the eunuch; and he baptized him."¹⁴ And a very illuminating experience is that of Paul and Silas in the prison at Philippi, who, after the jailer had fallen penitently before them, "spake the word of the Lord unto him, with all that were in his house. And he took them the same hour of the night, and washed their stripes; and was baptized, he and all his, immediately."¹⁵ Scenes similar to these were, no doubt, taking place throughout that world, wherever the missionaries carried their gospel. In time the procedure of the baptismal ceremony became standardized. Clearly defined rules were made to control it. A definite body of ethical instruction came to precede baptism. The *Didaché* furnishes the interesting regulation:

Concerning baptism, baptise thus: Having first rehearsed all these things, "baptise, in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit," in running water; but if thou hast no running water, baptise in other water, and if thou canst not in cold, then in warm. But if thou hast neither, pour water three times on the head "in the Name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit." And before the baptism let the baptiser and him who is to be baptised fast, and any others who are able.

- And thou shalt bid him who is to be baptised to fast one or two days before.¹⁶

Under the influence of this standardization, baptism loses some of the freshness and charm that characterized it in the earlier preaching, and the cult story does not seem to have been quite so important as formerly; though, of course, even here, its central significance for the whole ceremony is just as fundamental as ever.

IV

Still another ceremonial of the early church was the Christian adaptation of the Jewish Passover. There is abundant evidence that the early Christians continued to keep the Passover. At the beginning, even, they continued to keep the appointments of Jewish worship in the temple at Jerusalem with joy and zeal.¹⁷ Paul, himself, according to the record of Acts, continued to keep the requirements of the law.¹⁸ And the synagogue observance might be added to this evidence. But there is better evidence still. Paul uses terminology in writing to the Corinthians which would be inexplicable without their observance of Passover:

Know ye not that a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump? Purge out the old leaven, that ye may be a new lump, even as ye are unleavened. For our passover also hath been sacrificed, even Christ: wherefore let us keep the feast, not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedness, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth [I Cor. 5:6-8].

The same presupposition lies behind the statement of I Peter: "Ye were redeemed . . . with precious blood, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot, even the blood of Christ" (1:19). The statement of Acts, "We sailed away from Philippi after the days of unleavened bread," followed by anxiety to reach Jerusalem by Pentecost, indicates that, although far away from the Holy City, the days of unleavened bread had been observed in some

fitting way. But Paul had given the Christian Passover observance an entirely new meaning. The lamb which was slain for Christians was Jesus; and the same is true in I Peter. It is no doubt due to this new interpretation of Paul that the Gospel of John has revised the entire scheme of the passion, as presented by the Synoptics, and placed the death of Jesus, who was "the lamb of God who taketh away the sin of the world," and of whom "not a bone should be broken," on the day of Passover, at the very hour when the Passover lamb was slain (1:29; 19:14, 36). This Gospel has also changed the nature of the last meal that Jesus ate with the disciples; it is no longer the Passover; and it was not the occasion of the institution of the Lord's Supper. Instead, the Supper has assumed infinitely greater importance. The evangelist has very skilfully presented his conception of the Supper in his account of the Jewish Passover (6:1-59). It is the body and blood of the Christian ceremonial that give Passover a real meaning. The Christian feast brings life, and there is no other way for life to be attained. The Lord's Supper is the real Passover here; the Passover is to be observed as before in Judaism, but now the old interpretation is gone, while the date Nisan fourteenth alone remains. This transformation in the Fourth Gospel is in line with the strong anti-Jewish polemic throughout.

The transformation of the Passover into the Lord's Supper has even taken place in the Synoptic Gospels. In these Gospels Jesus really eats the last Passover meal with the disciples, but the meal becomes the occasion for the institution of the Supper, which is clearly to supplant the Passover in the Jewish sense, and the Lord is given the place of predominance in their thinking in the celebration of this festival. The Lord is not to eat the Passover again with his disciples until they have the privi-

lege of sitting with him at his table in his kingdom, that is, not only at the regular Passover time, but at every celebration of the Lord's Supper in the church.¹⁹

The two celebrations, however, persisted side by side in the church, and the conflicting traditions about the last meal of Jesus with the disciples—that Jesus ate a real Passover with his disciples, as related by the Synoptics; that Jesus was himself the Passover lamb and died before the eating of the Passover, according to John—were perpetuated in the observance of the Passover in the church, and led to the famous quartodeciman controversy between the churches of Asia Minor and those of the rest of the world, under the leadership of Rome. The churches in Asia Minor observed Nisan fourteenth only, closing the Passover celebration on the evening of that day with the Lord's Supper, emphasizing mainly, the crucifixion; whereas all other churches began the celebration on Nisan fourteenth and closed it on the following Sunday, which was really the culmination, in emphasis of the resurrection.²⁰ Mark has the Roman tradition, and John, that of Asia Minor, indicating the places of origin of those Gospels. The vitality of this controversy, which continued to rage to the end of the second century, bears eloquent testimony to the place of the Passover celebration in the life of the early churches; and the point at issue in the discussion calls attention to the Christian transformation that had taken place. The Passover was no longer a Jewish festival at all; it was now a "feast of the Savior's passover." "Synods and assemblies of bishops were held on this account, and all, with one consent, through mutual correspondence drew up an ecclesiastical decree, that the mystery of the resurrection of the Lord should be celebrated on no other but the Lord's day, and that we should observe the close of the paschal fast on this day only."²¹

This transformation of the Passover bears abundant testimony, not only of the function which the story of the death and resurrection of Jesus served in connection with the observance at the time, but also of the rôle which the use of the story had played in the services of the church of every sort, in all the years of the church prior to that time. It was that use of the cult story of the church which transformed the Jewish feast into a Christian festival, that filled the water-pots with wine.

v

Up to this point we have observed how the narrative of the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus, the cult story of the church, functioned in the early preaching, in the celebration of the Lord's Supper, at baptism, and in the observance of Passover. It is in place now to consider the question of how the cult story of the church came to have this central importance. The answer is to be found in two directions. There was the use of similar narratives in the religions from which Christianity won its converts, and the needs which had been nourished there were brought over with them into the new religion; and, in the second place, the answer lies in the meaning of the narrative to the early Christians in a symbolic way as a presentation of the great truths of their religion.

The religion out of which Christianity was born, and from which it continued to draw converts for many decades, was Judaism. It is but natural, therefore, to look into this religion for cult practices similar to that of telling the passion story of Jesus in the early church. The greatest ceremonial celebration in Judaism was the annual Passover. It was undoubtedly one of the oldest and most revered of Jewish institutions. In connection with the celebration of the Passover, which began on Nisan

fourteenth and continued, as the feast of Unleavened Bread, until the twenty-first, there was a very definite cult story, which was always faithfully told, from which the ceremony got its significance for the worshipers. It was the vivid story of the deliverance of the children of Israel from the bondage of Egypt under the leadership of Moses, the servant of God. After many contests with Pharaoh in which God had shown his power, the time came when a last plague was to be sent upon the Egyptians, the first-born in every home was to be slain. The only way to escape from this awful tragedy was to slay a lamb, to sprinkle his blood upon the lintels of the doors, and to eat the roasted flesh according to very specific directions. By doing this the Israelites were saved from the plague, which, on the other hand, struck every Egyptian home. The Israelites set out at once on their journey to freedom with God leading them, as a cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night. Moses commanded to keep the Passover in memory of that event forever. "And it shall come to pass when your children shall say unto you, What mean ye by this service? that ye shall say, It is the sacrifice of Jehovah's passover, who passed over the houses of the children of Israel in Egypt, when he smote the Egyptians, and delivered our houses."²² It is not necessary to go back into the primitive origin of the Passover feast to understand the significance which it had for the Jews in the light of this cult story. This was the story of their redemption, and, as often as they ate the Passover lamb, they proclaimed that fact to the world, just as the Christians proclaimed the death of Jesus by the celebration of the Lord's Supper. We can easily see how the Jews who became Christians would need a Christian story to take the place of the one they were giving up. The transition from the Jewish to the Christian Passover, from the Passover lamb to the Lamb of God,

from eating the roasted flesh to the Supper in the church, is clear in this light. The first Jewish Christians brought over their own story, but it gradually acquired a new meaning, as the Christology of the church developed away from orthodox Judaism. The church became the only true Judaism, and the Jews were regarded as a lost people because they had not accepted the redemption through Christ, which was proclaimed in the new cult story and celebrated as the true Passover, both at the regular Passover time and also on the first day of every week.

VI

Most of the converts of early Christianity were found, however, in the gentile world; and in the religions of that world, cult stories similar to the passion of Jesus existed in great abundance. The testimony of Justin alone is sufficient evidence of that fact. A typical passage out of Justin's apologetic for the Christian cult story is the following:

And when we say also that the Word, who is the first-born of God, was produced without sexual union, and that he, Jesus Christ, our teacher, was crucified and died, and rose again, and ascended into heaven, we propound nothing different from what you believe regarding those whom you esteem sons of Jupiter. For you know how many sons your esteemed writers ascribed to Jupiter: Mercury, the interpreting word and teacher of all; Aesculapius, who, though he was a great physician, was struck by a thunderbolt, and so ascended to heaven; and Bacchus too, after he had been torn limb from limb; and Hercules, when he had committed himself to the flames to escape his toils; and the sons of Leda, and the Dioscuri; and Perseus, son of Danae; and Bellerophon, who, though sprung from mortals, rose to heaven on the horse Pegasus. For what shall I say of Ariadne, and those who, like her, have been declared to be set among the stars? And what of the emperors who die among yourselves, whom you deem worthy of deification, and in whose behalf you produce some one who swears he has seen the burning Caesar rise to heaven from the funeral pyre? And what kind of deeds are recorded

of each of these reputed sons of Jupiter, it is needless to tell to those who already know. This only shall be said that they are written for the advantage and encouragement of youthful scholars; for all reckon it an honorable thing to imitate the gods. . . . But if any one objects that he was crucified, in this also he is on a par with those reputed sons of Jupiter of yours, who suffered as we have now enumerated. For their sufferings at death are recorded to have been not all alike, but diverse; so that not even by the peculiarity of the sufferings does he seem to be inferior to them; but, on the contrary, as we promised in the preceding part of this discourse, we will now prove him superior. . . . And if we even affirm that he was born of a virgin, accept this in common with what you accept of Perseus. And in that we say that he made whole the lame, the paralytic, and those born blind, we seem to say what is very similar to the deeds said to have been done by Aesculapius.²³

That these stories were not mere poetic myths that had lost their meaning for men of that time, that large numbers of the Christians themselves had formerly believed them, is shown, also, by Justin's own words:

And, secondly, because we . . . who, out of every race of men, used to worship Bacchus the son of Semele, and Apollo the son of Latona . . . and Proserpine and Venus (who were maddened with love of Adonis, and whose mysteries also you celebrate), or Aesculapius, or some one or other of those who are called gods—have now, through Jesus Christ, learned to despise these, though we be threatened with death for it . . . Those who believe these things we pity, and those who invented them we know to be devils.²⁴

That was the religious situation that Justin faced in the first half of the second century. It is a vivid picture of a world that was used to cult stories on every hand similar to the Christian narrative. The recent discovery of an orpheum at Pompeii, in a private villa that has lain buried since A.D. 79, when it was covered up by the eruption of Vesuvius, is striking evidence that these very cult stories were being used in the mystery cults there right at the time when Paul was preaching the cross of Christ in Rome.²⁵ In the interior of this secret shrine there was

found a series of pictures used in the preparation and initiation. The set consisted of two series representing the various stages of the new-birth process, and culminating in the resurrection experience, where the new life was realized. Various other features of the Orphic ceremonies, such as the sacramental meal, are evidenced from the remains of birds which were deposited in one room of the building. The ceremonies were organized around the cult story, as shown by the pictures, which told of the death and resurrection of Dionysus-Zagreus. This god, by virtue of his own suffering and victory, imparted victory and immortality to those who were initiated into his mysteries.

VII

This religious situation, which prevailed when the gospel of Christ was first being preached, explains why the cult story of the church was so effective. Just as the first Christians came out of Judaism, where they had been used to the Passover story, so the later converts came from the gentile religions. For every convert, regardless of the source whence he came, the story of Jesus' passion found its value by enabling him to understand the ceremonies of the church which he had adopted, and as a basis for his devotional meditation in the worship of the new Lord, who had become his savior from death through his victory over death and the realm of the dead. The beauty of such a cult story is that it is a symbol whose meaning is dependent upon the understanding of the worshiper. He understands the experiences of Jesus just to the extent that he has become acquainted with them in his own life. It was natural that the story of Jesus was not understood in the same way by all of the early Christians. It had different meanings for converts out of Judaism and the mystery cults, but in both cases it was

equally effective. For Paul and James the meaning of the story of Jesus was entirely different, but, nevertheless, indispensable for them both. For many of the early Christians, especially in times of persecution, Jesus became the ideal martyr; and it was necessary to experience martyrdom to become his disciple in the fullest sense. In times of great moral struggle and temptation, Gethsemane and the words on the cross found their greatest usefulness. The disciples of Paul saw in the story the symbol of their own experience of redemption and of new-birth to divine life. They were crucified to the world; they died to sin; they were buried with Christ; they rose with him in the glory of a new resurrection experience in this present life; and they ascended with the risen Christ to the heights of heavenly places in mystical union with the Lord, who himself had been enthroned at God's right hand.

The resurrection story, in one way or another, presented not only the risen Lord in his glorified form, superior to all material, spatial and temporal limitations, but symbolized all that inhered in the conceptions of immortality itself, both in this life and the life to come. There was room for Jewish bodily resurrection or for Greek immortality of spirit; or for a fusion of the two ideas, such as one finds in Paul. The stories about the risen Lord's return to the disciples, at various times and in varied forms, assuring them that he was really alive again, presented the daily fellowship, in the most intimate and personal terms with the cult Lord, when the church met around the communion table to break bread, of fishermen at their nets, or of wanderers along a lonely road. The Pentecost scene presents in symbol the return of the exalted and glorified Christ to the missionaries of his gospel, to direct their activities and inspire their message as they started out to the ends of the earth, and to take up his permanent

dwelling in the hearts of believers, which had become the temples of his continuous abiding presence.

VIII

This use of the story of the passion of Jesus in the early church throws light upon the whole problem of Gospel origins. One can see the material contained in the Gospels taking form, and there can be no doubt that the nucleus around which it collected was the story which was the very heart of all the cult activities. This story itself went through a long process of development. There was a time when the entire story was comprised in the seven words: *ὄντως ἡγέρθη ὁ κύριος καὶ ὥφθη Σίμων* ("The Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared to Simon," Luke 24:34). From that tiny nucleus it has grown to the elaborate forms in which we now find it. The story of this development is the record of that vitality which lay at the heart of the beginning church. It is, on the one hand, the personal experience of individuals who came to the resurrection faith in fellowship with their Lord; on the other, it is the story of the new church adapting itself to the manifold needs of a Jewish and a Greek world, of coming to grips with every ultimate religious problem of the syncretistic Hellenistic civilization. Every new situation of the beginning church, in ministering to that complex religious world, has left its stamp, in one way or another, on the Gospel story; and has had its part in giving permanent form to that material which has become the priceless heritage of the church.

CHAPTER II

“THE LORD IS RISEN!”

There can be no doubt that the disciples of Jesus came to the belief after his death that he had risen from the dead. The problem which we face is to determine what caused them to come to this new faith. What was the actual historical course of events in those first days after the crucifixion? It is quite evident that any interpretation of the development of the resurrection narratives must first grapple with this historical question. The Gospel narratives have been handed down as the historical records of the resurrection of Jesus, but can we take these without question as objective and scientific accounts? In addition to the Gospel records there is the testimony of Paul. These constitute our sole evidence. We must solve the problem as to the basis of the belief that Jesus had risen, from these sources, if indeed the problem can be solved. The testimony of Paul is that the basis of the resurrection faith was visions of Jesus; that of the Gospels is that the evidence was the empty grave on Sunday morning, supplemented by visions of angels and of Jesus. A solution of the problem must take these evidences into account, and is obliged to account for what it accepts and rejects. It is not enough to show that certain evidences are unreliable, one must show why they came into existence. The evidences in every case served a functional value in the religious life of the group which produced and preserved them.

I

From a time earlier than the writing of the Gospel of Matthew there have been those who accounted for the story of the empty grave, and of the resurrection faith, therefore, which the empty grave was supposed to have produced, by saying that the body was stolen. The Jews said that the disciples had stolen the body and announced that Jesus had risen from the dead.¹ This story was still alive in Justin's day and had been proclaimed throughout the world.² In the time of Tertullian it was reported that the gardener had stolen the body lest his lettuce should come to harm.³ The *Tol' doth Yeshu* has the body removed by the gardener and cast into a canal where the water flows over it.⁴ O. Holtzmann thinks that the body was removed from its resting place and buried somewhere else by the distinguished councilor, who was unwilling for a man who died on a cross to lie in his family vault.⁵ Others, such as Lake, think the women may have made a mistake in the early dawn and gone to the wrong tomb, to one which was really empty.⁶ Reimarus concluded that the whole affair was the clever invention of the disciples after the death of Jesus in order that they might continue the easy life which they had had while with Jesus.⁷ The Christ-myth critics do not accuse the disciples of falsehood, but explain the formation of the entire gospel story, including the resurrection, as the development of a system of theology which was anthropomorphized in their own minds, in response to very definite needs, modeled on the pattern of the myths of other similar religions already in existence in the ancient world.⁸ A position similar to this was stated even so early as the Jew whom Celsus quoted in his attacks against Christianity.⁹ The rationalists

were fond of the swoon theory, such men as Venturini, Paulus and Schleiermacher adopting the view.¹⁰

The fundamental weakness of all these theories is that they are too simple. They are inadequate to account for the fervent devotion of the early disciples to their Lord and for the origin of the Christian church. The weakness lies in the assumption that in disposing of the body as they do, and of the physical resurrection, they have disposed of the evidence upon which the resurrection faith was based; but, as a matter of fact, they do not at all account for the testimony of Paul. The swoon theory has never been popular since the days when Strauss showed the difficulty involved in trying to explain the beginning of the Christian movement by having for its founder “a being who had stolen half-dead out of the sepulchre, who had crept about weak and ill, wanting medical treatment, who required bandaging, strengthening and indulgence, and who still at last yielded to his sufferings.”¹¹

II

The theory of traditional theology has always been a bodily resurrection; that the same body that was laid in the grave really came forth afterwards and appeared to the disciples—the length of time that Jesus remained with the disciples varying in the different documents and traditions from one to forty or more days—and then ascended to heaven.¹² But to say that even these traditional interpreters have always been satisfied with their own hypotheses would be to go too far; for since the effort of Paul to combine the idea of a physical resurrection, which he inherited from his Jewish eschatology, with the Greek idea of spiritual immortality, this problem has baffled the apologists. Paul could not state his conception without difficulties even for his own day, when a philosophical dualism

was much less repugnant than now, so it is no wonder that even many apologists are glad to relinquish the Pauline conception and state the doctrine of immortality entirely in Greek terms. The modern investigator must proceed on an empirical basis and reach his conclusion after observing all the facts relating to the phenomena of death that are available to the scientist. He would not deny a physical resurrection on *a priori* grounds, but would desire very strong evidence that one had ever occurred. He would not hesitate to include physical resurrection within his view of the world if empirical investigation were to justify it. But, on the other hand, he would hesitate to accept such a phenomenon as a fact, when it is reported to have happened two thousand years ago, at a time when the prevalent worldview of the witnesses incapacitated them for testifying in such a case.

III

The alternative then is a vision hypothesis in some form. And we find upon a re-examination of the evidence of the New Testament that such an hypothesis is in harmony with a legitimate interpretation of the data there presented. That one must carefully weigh all the testimony of the Gospels on this question, is made evident by the many inconsistencies in the narratives, such as the records of the watch at the tomb, the anointing of the body, the persons who came to the grave, the time of the visit of the women to the sepulchre, the moving of the stone, the statements of the angels, what was seen in the sepulchre, the report of the women to the disciples, the result of their message, the places and manner of Jesus' appearance, etc.

We recognize that the writers of the Gospels were not eyewitnesses of the events which they record. They are writing at second hand. We know also that Mark is the

earliest Gospel of those preserved, that Matthew and Luke and John have made use of Mark and, morevore, that John is the latest of all. It seems reasonable and in harmony with the principles that govern the growth of narratives and of documents to consider the simpler form as more ancient than the more elaborate form. That principle is true at least in the question of the relative priority of the Gospels. There is no question that Mark is the earlier of the Gospels, and that is easily shown so far as the resurrection story of Mark is concerned. We may discard those features in the other Gospels which are plainly an elaboration of the resurrection narrative of Mark, as the work of later hands.

So we must deal with Mark. Its original conclusion has been lost but the main facts seem to be preserved and its testimony can be reconstructed with reasonable certainty. The women went to the grave and found the stone rolled away; on going in they saw a young man who told them that Jesus had risen and bade them carry word to the disciples and Peter, to go into Galilee to the appointed place, where they should see him, for he was preceding them thither; but the women fled from the tomb, for they had become very much afraid, and said not a word to any one (16:8).

The first point to be noted in this narrative is the open tomb discovered by the women; second, the statement of the young man that Jesus had risen; third, the instruction of the young man indicates that the original conclusion contained an account of an appearance in Galilee;¹³ fourth, the women were frightened and did not deliver the message to any one; and fifth, the first appearance would be made to Peter in Galilee. This statement of Mark excludes all evidence of an empty grave until after the appearance in Galilee; and it makes it very clear that the resurrection

faith as recorded in Mark was not based upon the message about the visit of the women to the tomb and the finding of the empty grave; but, rather, upon the appearance of Jesus to Peter and the disciples in Galilee. There is no indication of how soon the appearance in Galilee took place, but that it could have occurred on this same Sunday is not to be thought of, for the disciples have not yet left Jerusalem, according to this narrative, and, due to the Jewish sabbath journey regulation, it is natural to suppose that they had not had time to reach Galilee since the crucifixion. All of which shows quite clearly that the resurrection faith was not attained on the first day of the week following the crucifixion, but later, and that the designation of the first day of the week as the day of the resurrection was made on other grounds.¹⁴

At this point then we are ready to consider the testimony of Paul. His first letter to the Corinthians is our oldest documentary evidence as to the basis of the resurrection faith. The testimony of Paul on this point is in perfect agreement with our reconstruction of the evidence of the Gospels. He believed in the resurrection because he and others before him had seen Jesus alive. He names a group of persons well known in Christian circles to whom Jesus had appeared alive after the crucifixion. This statement of Paul is the only direct testimony that we have. No doubt there is direct testimony reflected in some Gospel sayings and traditions, but they have come to us through others, and we cannot be quite certain after our processes of literary and historical criticism that we can recover the original firsthand evidence of those who experienced the visions. But I Corinthians was written between 55 and 60 A.D., and its genuineness is not questioned. There can be no doubt that here we have the frank testimony of an earnest man to a fact of his own religious experience,

which was paralleled by the similar experience previously of Peter and James and other persons, who were well known in the church.

Moreover, the very word used by Paul (*καὶ ὅτι ὤφθη Κηφᾶς*) indicates that a vision is described. The same verb is used in Luke 24:34 (*καὶ ὤφθη Σίμωνι*). Paul makes no distinction between his experience and that of the others whom he names. The ordinary use of *ὤφθη* in the New Testament is of some unusual phenomenon of spiritual manifestation or visual experience. It is used to describe the appearance of Moses and Elijah in all the Synoptic accounts of the transfiguration, Mark 9:4; to describe the appearance of the angel to Zechariah, Luke 1:11; of the appearance of an angel to Moses on Mount Sinai, Acts 7:30, 35; of the appearance of God to Abraham, Acts 7:2; of the appearance of the ark of the covenant in the temple with the flashing of lightning, Rev. 11:19; of the appearance of a great sign in Heaven, Rev. 12:1-3; of the fiery tongues on Pentecost, Acts 2:3; of the sudden appearance of Moses to his brethren while they were in dispute, Acts 7:26; of the appearance to Simon, Luke 24:34, I Cor. 15:5; of the appearance of Jesus to his followers, Acts 13:31; of the appearance of Jesus to angels, I Tim. 3:16; of the return of Jesus from Heaven, Heb. 9:28; and of the appearance of Jesus to Paul, Acts 9:17, 26:16, as well as I Cor. 16:8.

In the light of this usage of *ὤφθη* in the New Testament, there can be no doubt that when Paul and the other writers described the post-resurrection appearances they had reference to experiences of an exceptional kind.¹⁵

It is significant that Paul said nothing about an empty grave, and the clear implication of Mark is that the empty grave was secondary to the vision experiences which were promised in Galilee. It might be too much to deny that

Paul knew of the empty grave stories, but it is quite certain that they were not the basis of his belief that Jesus had risen from the dead. His teaching about the resurrection body implies an empty grave, as would the ordinary Jewish view of bodily resurrection, but his faith in the risen Lord would have been father to the empty grave stories in his case. Therefore, we may conclude that the evidence of Mark, the oldest Gospel, and of Paul, the earliest witness, are perfectly agreed that the basis of the resurrection faith of the early disciples was their visions of the risen Lord, and not the fact of an open grave on Sunday morning after the crucifixion.

Now when we turn to the Gospels other than Mark we are also led to the same conclusion. Without an exception the writers show that the disciples were not convinced by the report of the empty grave that Jesus had risen from the dead, but treated the message as the idle tale of women, and laughed them to scorn. Regardless of whether these incidents are historical, they are proof that the belief in the resurrection came from visions rather than from the empty grave. The Johannine appendix, moreover, seems to be the reworking of an early tradition about the conversion of the disciples in Galilee, who had returned to their fishing quite contrary to what would normally have happened if they had already attained their resurrection faith by a vision of the living Christ. Similar emphasis upon the convincing power of visions is found in the added conclusion to Mark. Confirmation of this result is found also in the fragment of the Gospel according to the Hebrews,¹⁶ which describes the conversion of James by an appearance of the risen Lord to him. And the same evidence is found in the Gospel of Peter, which follows the Gospel of Mark very closely here. Just as in Mark the women went to the tomb, but fled in terror, so they do

here; and at the end of the feast of Unleavened Bread, the disciples begin their journey back home, weeping over their tragic disappointment in Jerusalem; still sorrowing thus after an entire week has passed; and the fragment breaks off just at the point where a Galilean appearance is to be described. As a matter of fact, one sees at a glance through all the apocryphal passion stories that without exception, although they know about the open grave, they represent the visions as the basis of the belief that Jesus had risen from the dead. In no case do they represent that the visions were produced by the knowledge that the grave was empty. The evidence is quite to the contrary; for the open grave, when made known, is only the cause of further despair, rather than the glad tidings of the resurrection of the Lord. The evidence is overwhelming that the historical basis of the resurrection faith was the vision experiences; and is just as conclusive, moreover, that the belief in the empty tomb came as a secondary production, probably as an apologetic against the Jewish skeptics of the resurrection.¹⁷

IV

But who was the first person to whom this marvelous vision of the risen Lord came? Our most important witness again is Paul, who says that Jesus arose and appeared to Peter and then to others.¹⁸ In this account of Paul's gospel we have what Brun and Harnack think is a joining together of two conflicting rationales of the early Christian preaching.¹⁹ The original message as it was preached embodied an appearance to an individual and then to a group; there was competition as to what individual should have the honor of this first Christophany. In some circles this was given to James, and the tradition has been preserved in the Gospel according to the

Hebrews.²⁰ That James was prominent in the early church cannot be questioned; but that Peter was prominent long before is still just as clear. The message sent to Peter in the end of Mark, to go into Galilee to see the Lord, is quite in harmony with the statement of Paul that Peter was the first one to have a vision of the risen Christ. Testimony is borne to the same fact, moreover, in Luke 24:34, "the Lord has risen and appeared to Simon" (*ἠγέρθη ὁ κύριος καὶ ὥφθη Σίμωνι*). This fragmentary statement which has become imbedded here in a strange context in Luke, so that it is almost lost, is, no doubt, the record of the earliest appearance of the risen Lord, and so represents the simplest form in which the gospel story was ever told. From this tiny seed the other elaborations have grown.

It is not only in explicit statements that Peter was the father of the resurrection faith that we have proof of that fact, for the evidence for it is written in large letters all through the history of the early church. One has only to note his prominence in the gospel record as told by Mark to see his pre-eminence in the beginning church. He is the first disciple called, 1:16; Jesus enters his home in Capernaum and heals his wife's mother, 1:30; Jesus gives him the surname of Peter and he heads the list of the twelve, 3:16; he it is who first comes to the faith that Jesus is the Christ, 8:29; he is the leader of the three who go to the transfiguration, 9:2-5; he sees the withered fig tree, 11:21; he affirms his faith and his desertion is predicted, 14:30; he goes to Gethsemane, and it is he whom the Lord asks the question whether he could not watch one hour, 14:33; he goes to the court of the high priest and there denies his Lord, 14:53; and to him the angel sends the message to go to Galilee to see the risen Lord, 16:7.

Peter is thus present at all the great moments in the life of Jesus. He is the first called; he heads the twelve; he realizes first that Jesus is the Christ; and when we see that the belief that Jesus was the Christ was based upon the resurrection faith it becomes clear at once how significant it is that Peter is here represented as the first one to have that faith. A different motif enters in the denial but it points to the same fact, for what could throw into greater relief the tragedy of Jesus than that the most prominent disciple of all should deny him? In Matthew he is made the rock upon which the church is founded, thus explaining where he got his name, and Jesus said that his faith came by revelation from God, 16:16. That statement in itself points to Peter's vision experience. In Luke he is the only one who will fight for his master, 22:50; and Jesus says to him, 22:31-32: “Simon, Simon, behold, Satan asked to have you (*ὑμᾶς*) that he might sift you as wheat: but I made supplication for thee, that thy faith fail not; and do thou, when once thou hast turned again, establish thy brethren.” When these words were written down in the Gospel of Luke, the church had already been sifted like wheat by the passion tragedy and the persecution that followed it, and it was well known that Peter had been the first to regain his confidence and faith and had then revived the faith of his fellows. It is very significant that Jesus says here, “Satan asked to have *ὑμᾶς* . . . but I have prayed for *σοῦ* . . .” That point is not always obvious in the translation.

In John, when the disciples are connected with the story of the grave it is Peter who is there, 20:6; and in the appendix there is a special instruction to him by the Lord to feed the sheep and lambs of the church, in addition to having the keys of the kingdom in Matthew. And the same impression is clearer still in the Acts. He is presiding over

the church in the first chapter ; he preaches the first sermon in the second ; he takes the lead in the early preaching and church activities, in healing, and missions, in opening the door to the gentiles, in all the early history ; and his place is not taken until the rise of James and the career of Paul are brought to the foreground.²¹ The experience of Paul himself with Peter at Antioch shows how prominent Peter was in the early church, Gal. 2. So there can be no doubt that Peter was the first disciple who had a vision of the risen Lord, and thus became father of the resurrection faith and the rock upon which the church was built.²²

V

Now where was Peter when he experienced this vision of the risen Lord? Neither the earliest form of the account of the appearance to Peter, Luke 24:34, nor the record of I Cor. 15:5, gives us any information on this point, although the statement as it is imbedded in the context in Luke clearly meant that it occurred in Jerusalem. But we are not without evidence of a decisive character in the New Testament. The prophecy placed in the mouth of Jesus in Mark 14:28, and recalled by the young man at the grave in 16:7, and shown also in the parallel passages in Matthew, as well as in the rewritten parallel in Luke 24:6, would be utterly incomprehensible if the vision experiences did not occur first in Galilee. It is the positive evidence of Mark and Matthew that Galilee was the scene. On the other hand, Luke and John have stated that all the visions were in Jerusalem. What are we to make of this disagreement? Some have thought that Luke represents the older tradition, and that the transition to Galilee is an error due to a misunderstanding of the un-filled prophecies of Jesus promising to meet the disciples

in Galilee. Such is the view of Albertz, who says “the flight of the disciples to Galilee is a legend of criticism.”²³

But that view certainly does not interpret the evidence correctly. For Luke and John even, the witnesses for the Jerusalem appearances betray the older tradition. Luke does it by his “remember how he spoke unto you when he was yet in Galilee, 24:7.” And John gives the same evidence in an unexpected way when he relates the visit of Peter and the other disciple to the grave. They saw and believed that the grave was empty but did not know what to make of it, “For as yet they knew not the scripture, that he must rise again from the dead. So the disciples went away again unto their *own home*, 20:9-10.” Moreover, one may cite the same evidence from the Western non-interpolation in Luke 24:12, that Peter went away again to his own home, (*πρὸς ἑαυτόν*), wondering about what had happened; for while this does not belong to the most ancient text it supports the Johannine passage from which it is taken. So we have the testimony of Luke, inadvertently to be sure, that the appearances were in Galilee, and of John, that Peter and the other disciple went away to their own home. We know from other sources that Peter lived at Capernaum.²⁴

The Johannine appendix also bears evidence to a Galilean appearance. This is clearly a reflection of an ancient tradition of how the disciples had returned to their homes in Galilee and were converted to the resurrection faith by visions of Jesus; and it indicates the important part that Peter had in bringing about the conversion of the others. This same ancient tradition is preserved in the Gospel of Peter, where it is related that, after the feast of Unleavened Bread, each of the twelve disciples in sorrow and grief “for that which had befallen departed unto his own

house. But I, Simon Peter, and Andrew my brother, took our nets and went unto the sea. . . ."²⁵

On the other hand, it is very easy to account for the development of the tradition of the Jerusalem appearances. In the first place, it would be demanded by the apologetic just as soon as the story of the empty grave began to be used. No story of an empty grave could gain credence so long as it was admitted that all the disciples were away in Galilee, and that they acquired their faith there. It was necessary that the prominent disciples, who could be reliable witnesses, should be in Jerusalem so that they could bear testimony to the open grave. It is in line with this that Luke and John, who are so much interested in the open grave and in the materiality of the body of the risen Lord, are those who have adopted the Jerusalem tradition. The two go hand in hand. Furthermore, in the second place, the entire trend of early Christian apologetic was to place the beginning of the Christian movement in Jerusalem. It is in Bethlehem near by, the city of David, whose descendant he was, that the late additions to the Gospel tradition in the infancy narratives have the Messiah born. The childhood stories all have to do with the sacred environs of the holy city. And by the time that Luke wrote his history of the Christian movement, the church had come to think of its beginning there in great splendor. The Pentecost scene is magnified in Jerusalem, the first church, which was the mother of all; and it was from there that the beginning of the evangelization was made, which was to expand in ever widening circles until the uttermost parts of the earth were reached with the gospel. The prophets had foretold that the Messianic kingdom should be set up there, and that Jerusalem should be the capital of the nations under the sway of the Messiah. Jerusalem was the logical place, therefore, for the

appearances of the risen Jesus to take place.²⁶ But if one adopts the Jerusalem tradition as correct, one faces the difficulty of explaining the presence of the prophecies of the Galilean appearances, and of all the Galilean tradition, which is manifestly greater than to account for the development toward Jerusalem. So we conclude that Peter's vision of the risen Lord occurred in Galilee. But this does not exclude the possibility that visions soon occurred in many other places, as the news of Peter's experience was spread abroad throughout the land of Palestine, wherever the disciples were to be found.

VI

Going another step farther, can we determine how soon after the crucifixion Peter's vision occurred? This point is vital for an explanation of the psychology of the vision and for the inauguration of the whole series of visions and the preaching of faith in the risen Lord. In the first place, it is evident that it did not occur on the third day. The only account which places it on the third day is Luke 24:34, but it is plain that this fragmentary record does not stand in its original setting, for the entire narrative of the appearance has fallen away—for which there was some good reason in primitive tradition. The account in I Cor. 15:5 does not date his vision on the third day, but, rather, dates the resurrection on the third day, and that is done, apparently, on the basis of scripture.²⁷ Moreover, the Galilean tradition of the location of the vision of Peter, which we have adopted, excludes the possibility of the vision on the third day, for Peter was in Jerusalem for the Passover which was on Friday, and the next day being the Sabbath he could not possibly leave for his home in Capernaum before Sunday. We assume that the crucifixion occurred Friday, Nisan 14th, with the Gospel of John and

the second century Quartodeciman churches, against the Synoptic tradition.²⁸ Capernaum was about seventy-five miles from Jerusalem, and three days were required even in emergencies for the journey from Galilee to Jerusalem.²⁹ The earliest possible time therefore when Peter could have returned to his nets was Wednesday, five days after the crucifixion.

The distance to Capernaum, however, is not the only consideration, for the disciples were in Jerusalem to attend the feast of Unleavened Bread, which began the day after Passover, i.e., Nisan 15th, and lasted until the 21st. The various regulations in the Old Testament for the observance of this feast do not make it clear whether the pilgrims were required to remain the entire week or not. Deut. 16:7 specifies that they were to return home "in the morning," but the later and more explicit accounts (2 Chr. 30:21; Ezr. 6:22; Jubilees 49:22) indicate that pilgrims were expected to spend the entire week in Jerusalem. Rabbinic opinion on this point was also divided, some interpreting the Deuteronomic regulation to mean the second day and others to mean the morning after the entire feast was over.³⁰ The length of time spent at Jerusalem, in addition to the one required day and night, seems to have been left to the judgment of the individual concerned, so that the disciples might return to Galilee before the end of the feast if they so desired.

The feast of Unleavened Bread began, therefore, on Saturday, Nisan 15th, and ended Friday, Nisan 21st. If Peter remained in Jerusalem until the end of the feast, he could not depart for home until Sunday, Nisan 23rd, for the 22nd was a Sabbath, and would not reach Capernaum before Tuesday evening, Nisan 25th. He would probably go back to his nets on the 26th.

It is obvious therefore that the *terminus a quo* of Peter's

vision might be anywhere from Wednesday, Nisan 19th, to Wednesday, Nisan 26th, and the *terminus ad quem* would be still later. There are two other data however that may point to a more definite dating than this. In Acts 1:3 it is stated that Jesus was with the disciples forty days after his resurrection, and the ascension seems to be synchronized with Pentecost. In that case the date of Peter's vision would be ten days after the crucifixion, i. e., Sunday, Nisan 23rd.³¹ The other datum is the statement in the Gospel of Peter that on the last day of the feast the crowds departed from the city and the disciples in sorrow returned home and to their nets.³² The fragment breaks off at this point apparently just before describing the appearance of the risen Lord to Peter. The author of this Gospel is obviously in error in representing that Peter and his companions left the city and arrived at home and went out with their nets all on the same day. The sheer distance from Jerusalem to Capernaum makes that impossible. He may be correct however in saying that the disciples arrived at home about the end of the feast and then went at once to their nets. While not impossible, it is scarcely conceivable that Peter went back to his nets while the feast was still in progress. It is more probable, if he arrived at Capernaum on Friday, Nisan 21st, the last day of the feast, that he would observe the Sabbath the next day, Nisan 22nd, and return to his nets Sunday, Nisan 23rd, the tenth day from the crucifixion. It is our purpose presently to attempt to reconstruct Peter's vision of the risen Christ. We may get some intimation of that tremendous experience from the Johannine appendix (Jn. 21) or from Mark's description of Jesus' appearing to the distressed disciples from the crests of raging waves (6:45-52), although there seems to be no doubt from the earliest tradition that Peter himself was the first one to come to the new faith. We are

led by converging lines of evidence to the conclusion that about ten days after the crucifixion Peter returned to his nets on the Sea of Galilee, to the very place and task from which Jesus had called him a very few years before, and that then his Lord appeared to him again, but this time in his risen glory.³³ Although many other disciples, both individuals and groups, subsequently saw similar visions, we may truly say therefore that the resurrection faith was based upon this experience of Peter.

CHAPTER III

“AND HATH APPEARED TO SIMON!”

There is no room for dogmatizing about the nature of the experience of Simon Peter when he saw Jesus alive again and became persuaded that he had risen from the dead. We may not hope to attain ultimate finality in the interpretation. But there is no reason why the study may not be kept within the limits of a strictly empirical method. That is the best instrument, even with all of its well recognized inadequacies, that science has yet been able to devise. The explanations of the visions of the early disciples that have been suggested in the past may be stated under three heads: the objective manifestation of a living spiritual being that had survived the death of the physical body to the physical senses of men who were still living a normal physical life; the so-called telegram from heaven, suggested by Keim;¹ and the subjective vision in which the object is real to the observer but has no objective reality.

I

The traditional interpretation from the beginning has held that Jesus survived the grave as a spiritual being and made himself known to the disciples on various occasions; and in recent times this theory has been supported by some who do not hold the usual traditional view of the Bible, but claim to be empirical scientists, who undertake to demonstrate the theory by the séances of spirit mediums.² But no one can make the assumption which has underlain

the traditional view, that departed spirits have objective ontological existence and are able to make themselves known to living persons, or that one has done that in the past, and make claim to an empirical method, for that method does not start with such assumptions.

This does not deny the right of faith to believe the traditional assumption but simply that science has a right to make it. And those who have attempted to prove their case by recourse to the séance have not yet succeeded. This is, no doubt, a legitimate field for investigation and the scientist should explore it, but no finality has been reached thus far, at least none that has been accepted by the recognized psychologists.³ Lake allows for the possibility that this type of investigation may take the study of the resurrection in the future into a new field or place it upon a different plane.⁴ But thus far it is pointed out that the phenomena of spiritism have explanation according to the recognized principles of psychology; the communications from the dead may be due to the reawakening of communications that have taken place before death and have lain dormant in the subconscious phase of personality.⁵ This is in harmony with the neural theory of the subconscious.

Moreover, the entire assumption on which the conception of communication with the dead rests is the primitive idea of human nature, which held that personality was of more than one distinct part; that the soul lived in the body as a dwelling place until death, and then continued its life in other places; that the soul's life was by no means conditioned by that of the body, but lived independently in and of itself. So since the soul continued to live after the death of the body it was believed that it could make communications to other souls still living in bodies. But modern psychology has discarded this old view of hu-

man nature. It sees personality as a unit. There are no compartments that exist separately in and of themselves. It simply recognizes different phases of personality and of consciousness. There may be more to personality than this, but empirical psychology has not discovered it. And until that discovery takes place the idea of a continued existence of the soul after death, while by no means disproved to faith, can be no more than an assumption, and, therefore, may not be used as a premise for the empirical explanation of historical phenomena. So either on the traditional basis or on that of the modern scientific investigator of the basis of spirit phenomena, the theory of the objective revelation of the departed spirit of Jesus to his disciples cannot be accepted as the basis for the explanation of the vision of Peter and of his companions.

II

The same conclusion must be reached in the case of the "telegram from heaven," suggested by Keim. It has exactly the same psychological difficulties as the objective appearance theory. There have been no scientific proofs of such a possibility as spirits sending telegrams from heaven back to their friends on earth; and the modern language in which it is clothed suggests that, likely, the ancients could not have conceived of such a theory before the invention of the electrical devices for sending messages by wireless. There was no such way of thinking in that ancient world. Rather, the disciples believed that Jesus came to them personally and delivered the messages face to face, so that he was present to their physical senses. And Keim's suggestion is not free from difficulties on other grounds. It really means that there was no appearance of Jesus at all, that the disciples did not see him, but that Jesus created for them, the false impression that

he was present with them although he was in reality not there. This suggestion of Keim's has not met with a warm response even from the conservative side because of this very difficulty. Bruce calls it "a bastard supernaturalism as objectionable to unbelievers as the true supernaturalism of the Catholic creed, and having the additional drawback that it offers to faith asking for bread a stone."⁶

III

The only theory that is thus left as a scientific explanation of the vision of Peter and the others is that they were in some way experiences of the subconscious life. The visions really occurred and were very real to the disciples, and psychology would not deny the possibility even that they were produced by the presence of Jesus in objective ontological reality, after his survival from the grave, but it holds, simply, that the visions may be explained according to well known laws which do not require an objective presence to account for a subjective experience. The subjective experience may be produced by a subjective stimulus and, in spite of that, have all the reality for the seer of phenomena produced by an external stimulus.⁷ A vision of this nature is the product of the psychical condition of the seer. A high tension of mental excitement and emotion leads him into an experience in which he becomes aware in his consciousness of something as present which in fact has no objective existence before him at the time of the vision. Moreover, the materials of which the vision is composed were previously in his mind and have engaged its activities. Under the influence of the proper stimuli, as soon as the necessary psychical condition is attained, a vision which has no objective reality is just as capable of explanation by psychological laws as are the normal visions and sensations produced by objective reality, which are

due to the functioning of the bodily senses while under no abnormal nervous or emotional strain. Therefore, to explain the vision of Peter on this basis it must be shown that there were previously in his mind the materials out of which the vision was constructed, and that his psychical condition was such as to make the vision possible.

IV

In the first place, the Gospels furnish us a clear outline of the character of Peter and give a record of his connection with Jesus from the very beginning of the ministry to the end. There is no reason to doubt that we have a reasonably trustworthy picture of him. Peter was the first disciple of Jesus. He was called from his nets by the Sea of Galilee. He was the leader of that intimate group of disciples which Jesus gathered to himself during his lifetime. He shared all the great experiences in the life of Jesus, the preaching of the kingdom which was just at hand, the ecstatic experience of the transfiguration, the casting out of demons, the healings, the arrest, the trial and death. Not only was he present through all these unusual experiences as the most intimate friend of Jesus, but in the greatest crisis of all he denied his relationship with Jesus. He was of an emotional temperament. He was very impressionable, responsive and subject to the domination of highly wrought nervous complexes. He was the first to affirm his devotion until death, possibly the first to flee, but, at the same time he was very tender-hearted, and wept for his weakness; he was the first to regain his courage after the ordeal was over and revived the courage of his brethren. He was a man of high spiritual idealism and devoted loyalty, but, also, he would easily yield to fear in the presence of danger. Peter's weakness is evident, also, from the statement of Paul in Galatians

2:11-14, where Paul rebukes him for his lack of courage in compromising his convictions. Not only in the life of Jesus but in the early years after the resurrection, Peter was the leader in the ecstatic experiences in the life of the church. He was the spokesman at Pentecost, he was connected with the stories in Acts in which the holy Spirit worked with power, sending death, or healing the sick, just as Jesus had done in the earlier days. Now it is not necessary to accept the actual historicity of the details of all these records here; but the very fact of the existence of the records and of Peter's connection with them is significant as to his ecstatic nature.

So with the type of man in mind that Peter was, we are able to picture the tremendous emotional strain under which he must have labored after he had denied his master through fear, and, yet, was driven to deepest penitence by his intense devotion and fundamental uprightness, when he realized that the master, whose intimate fellowship he had enjoyed all these years as his closest friend, had gone to the cross alone. He had upon his sensitive spirit the weight of his own failure in loyalty to his master in his time of greatest need; at the same time, he had the reproof of his master's courage under trial; and, last of all, the terrible tragedy of the cross clung in his mind with increasing pathos. The weight of it all drove his fevered consciousness to the verge of insanity itself, into that uncertain borderland of irresponsibility and irrationality, where the normal controls of conscious action dissolve and are supplanted by those primal forces which break forth in chaos out of the confusion of a deranged and disorganized personality. He could not shake off the feeling of reproach and self-condemnation that settled over him at the cross. But the days of the feast were over at last, and he set his face again toward the Galilean home

where Jesus had called him from his nets in days gone by to become a fisher of men. Now he went back to those nets again.⁸

v

But what materials could Peter have had in his mind, out of which a vision of Jesus alive again could have been constructed? We must not think here in terms of the highly developed doctrine of the resurrection held by the later church, as shown in the Gospels, or even in Paul, when we think of Peter's vision. It is not a cult lord that he sees, nor a potential apocalyptic Messiah seated at God's right hand, but simply the spirit of his departed friend, whom he had left to die alone on the cross just a few days before in Jerusalem. The vision showed him that Jesus was still alive. It is impossible, of course, for us to know exactly what was in Peter's mind in the way of materials out of which a vision could have been constructed, but we know that he did have the vision; and it is legitimate to infer from the vision the nature of the materials which had produced it. Moreover, we must think of Peter as a man who lived in the environment of the first century A. D., and who would, naturally, therefore, hold the ideas about spirits which prevailed in his world at the time. The time is past when one can think of the Jewish mind in the first century as isolated from the conceptions that circulated freely throughout the Hellenistic world. We may feel certain that Jews of the period held much the same ideas of spirits as did their contemporaries of other religions.⁹ Whatever was true of the beliefs of peoples in general on this question would be true of the Jews also at the time of Jesus.

The ancient Hebrews believed in a spiritual being which animated the body;¹⁰ that at death it departed from the

body and joined the other departed spirits;¹¹ and that it was possible for departed spirits to communicate with the living.¹² The Jews held the same ideas of demon possession and exorcism that prevailed at the time, not only in the Old Testament period as is shown by the rigorous condemnation of exorcism found there, but also in the Hellenistic period.¹³ The Gospels furnish evidence in abundance of exorcism and demon possession similar to that in such a treatise as *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana*.¹⁴ But what were some of the conceptions in that ancient world about the activities of souls of the dead?

VI

In the first place, it was recognized that departed spirits did reappear and make communications to the living. The prophet Samuel was called from his grave for a conference with King Saul.¹⁵ Herodotus wrote of the Nasamones in Libya that "their practice of divination is to go to the tombs of their ancestors, where after making prayers they lie down to sleep, and take whatever dreams come to them for oracles."¹⁶ Origen gave both his own view and that of Plato, showing how the beliefs survived, when he wrote, "as even Plato says in his treatise on the soul that shadowy phantoms of persons already dead have appeared to some around their sepulchres. Now the phantoms which exist about the soul of the dead are produced by some substance and this substance is in the soul, which exists apart in a body said to be of splendid appearance."¹⁷ And the popular belief in the possibility of the return of the soul is shown by Origen again when he said of Thomas, "That individual had, indeed, expressed his disbelief in the statement of the woman who said that she had seen him, not because he thought it impossible that the soul of a dead man could be seen; but he did not yet consider the report

to be true that he had been raised in a body, which was the antitype of the former."¹⁸ In another passage Origen continues, "Seeking God, then, in this way, we have no need to visit the oracles of Trophonius, of Amphiaraus, and of Mopsus, to which Celsus would send us, assuring us that we would there 'see the gods in human form, appearing to us with all distinctness, and without illusion.' For we know that these are demons, feeding on the blood, and smoke, and odor of victims."¹⁹ And again, Origen testifies to the belief in appearances held by the Greeks, "Now, that miraculous appearances have sometimes been witnessed by human beings, is related by the Greeks . . . by those who have given every evidence of being genuine philosophers, and of having related with perfect truth what had happened to them."²⁰

Testimony to the same phenomena is given by Tertullian, "But we are met with the objection that in visions of the night dead persons are not infrequently seen, and that for a set purpose. For instance, the Nasamones consult private oracles by frequent and lengthened visits to the sepulchres of their relatives, as one may find in Heraclides, or Nymphodorus, or Herodotus; and the Celts, for the same purpose, stay away all night at the tombs of their brave chieftains, as Nicander affirms . . . the power of God has, no doubt, sometimes recalled men's souls to their bodies, as a proof of his own transcendent rights . . ."²¹

The demons that afflicted men were often thought of as being the spirits of the dead; to the demons in the New Testament was attributed a roving disposition just as was the case in Hellenistic thought in general, and when they sought by spasms for new houses and dwelling places the desire was explained as due to their having been despoiled of their rightful place in a human body through death.²² Lucian has many of his characters speak of spirit appear-

ances by day and night and say that almost no one lives who has not seen them.²³ He has them refer to demons, phantoms, and the souls of the dead, who flit about over the earth, of departed souls who can work on living beings just as do demons, and who can appear to the living uncalled and can become evil spirits to do living persons harm.²⁴ In the great magical papyrus of Wessely there is a statement about a demon which flits about.²⁵

In the second place, the passages show not only that the ancient world believed in the reappearance of departed souls to living men, but that appearances were most likely to take place soon after the death of the departed. This is shown by the customs of praying and sleeping near the graves in the ancient festivals for the dead, which were prominent especially in the old Roman religion.

VII

In the third place, souls of men who had met violent death were thought to have the habit of reappearing. Thus we have the statement of Josephus, placed in the mouth of Titus to his soldiers, "For who is there who does not know that those souls of virtuous men which are severed from their fleshly bodies in battles by the sword, are received by the ether, that purest of elements, and placed among the stars; that they may become good demons and propitious heroes, and show themselves as such to their posterity afterwards?"²⁶ Tertullian states, "They also say that those souls which are taken away by a premature death wander about hither and thither until they have completed the residue of the years which they would have lived through, had it not been for their untimely fate . . . Hence those souls must be accounted as passing an exile in Hades, which people are apt to regard as carried off by violence, especially by cruel tortures, such as those

of the cross, and the axe, and the sword, and the lion . . . In this way, . . . by magic the Aori Biaeothanati (violently slain) are actually invoked . . ."²⁷

Lucian quotes a Pythagorean maxim, "A spirit only walks if its owner met with a violent end, if he was strangled, for instance, or beheaded, or crucified, and not if he died a natural death."²⁸ This evidence from Josephus, Tertullian and Lucian shows how prevalent these conceptions were in their day. A similar idea of the reappearance of a righteous man who had been slain by violence, even in the New Testament itself, is the suspicion attributed to Herod and to the people that John the Baptist had risen from the dead, and in the identification of Jesus with one of the prophets who would thus have risen up again from the dead.²⁹

VIII

In the fourth place, men of great importance and of outstanding personality were said frequently to reappear after death. A famous example is Romulus. Florus, the Roman historian, mentions the belief on the part of some that he had been torn to pieces by the senate, but that a tempest arose and an eclipse of the Sun occurred, which indicated that an *apotheosis* had taken place; that Julius Proculus affirmed soon afterward that he had seen Romulus in a more majestic form than he had ever had; and that Romulus commanded them to accept him as divine; saying that among the gods in heaven he was called Quirinus. Thus Rome should become the mistress of the nations.³⁰ It was believed that the poet Aristeas returned after his death and was seen by various persons at different times during a period of years and wrote poetry during the time; and numerous Greeks and Romans claimed to have seen the risen Aesculapius.³¹ Dion Cassius relates,

"A spirit declaring that he was the famous Alexander of Macedon, wearing his apparel and all his apparatus, started from the regions near the Ister . . . It traveled through Thrace and Asia, revelling in company with four hundred male attendants, who were equipped with thyrsi and fawn skins, and did no harm. The fact was admitted by all those who lived in Thrace at the time that lodgings and all provisions for it were provided at public expense. And no one dared to oppose it, either by word or by deed —no governor, no soldier, no procurator, no heads of provinces—but proceeding as if in a daylight procession prescribed by proclamation, to the confines of Bithynia. Leaving that point, it approached the Chalcedonian land, and there, after performing some sacred rite by night, and burying a wooden horse, it vanished."³²

Now thus far, in regard to the vision material that was available for Peter's mind, (although it is not assumed that he knew all the instances cited here, but rather that the ideas behind such stories were general property), the belief has been shown that men possessed souls which left their bodies at death and lived on; that these souls reappeared to the living at times; that they were especially likely to reappear soon after death, often near the graves, though not by any means always there; especially, that innocent men who had been violently slain were accustomed to return; and, more especially still, that the souls of great personalities, such as poets, generals, statesmen, great physicians and healers, great teachers and prophets, were believed to return.

IX

To this material, which was certainly available for Peter, must be added a consideration of the personality of Jesus and what the disciples thought of him. It is evident to the

most casual student of the Gospels and of early Christianity that Jesus was, to say the least, a great Jewish teacher. The liberal Jews of our own day are glad to admit this. He drew about himself some very intimate friends with whom he lived in the closest companionship. He was a miracle worker, exorcist and healer, and was conscious of the endowment of the Spirit of God. His temperament was ecstatic and apocalyptic. He was concerned with the religious attitudes and relationships of life; and he saw the spiritual values rather than the ceremonial in the religious practices which he advocated and the law prescribed. It is well recognized that he was a preacher of repentance; that the old order was at an end and that the kingdom of God was ready to be ushered in by the appearance of the Messiah on the clouds of heaven. That much at least is certain. What he taught about himself is difficult to know, since it is next to impossible to distinguish between his own teaching about himself and what his disciples thought about him later on and projected back into his own teaching. It is not desirable here to present the problem in detail, since too much space would be required.³³ But it may be pointed out that the statements of the Gospels that he claimed to be the Messiah have great difficulties. It could scarcely be maintained that he claimed to be a Davidic Messiah and would deliver his nation by the sword; and it is difficult to see how he could have thought of himself as an apocalyptic Messiah. In all the conceptions of that rôle found in Jewish literature, from which Jesus naturally would have taken the pattern for his own thinking on the question, there was no program outlined which allowed for a previous life in the flesh on earth before the revelation of the Messiah on the clouds from heaven. Nor is there any evidence of a conception which made room for the cross before the revelation from

heaven. So it is difficult to see how Jesus could have conceived of himself in this rôle.

It is just as difficult to conceive of Jesus predicting his death and resurrection on the third day or after three days and nights, or that he predicted his resurrection at all. It is quite conceivable, however, that he did foresee his death when he was near the end. But even if Jesus did predict his death and resurrection on the third day, it is evident that the disciples did not understand it, from the apologetic statements of the evangelists, who always explain that when the predictions were made the disciples did not understand, and that Jesus charged them not to tell anyone. This is clearly evidence that the evangelists felt obliged to explain to the readers of their books why no one knew of the predictions until after the event. And to accept the predictions as authentic would make the whole experience of the disciples at the cross a mere farce. If the disciples expected Jesus to rise on the third day, why were they so terrified by the tragedy? And why did they give up their hopes? Again, assuming the prophecies genuine, how did Jesus foresee that his resurrection would take place on the third day? Or that the first vision experience would happen on that day? The alternative is to explain the predictions as the work of the disciples in their reflection upon the events after they had passed by; and to assign them to that period when they began to search the scriptures to give validity to their religious experiences.³⁴

On the other hand, that the movement with which Jesus was identified was Messianic is certain. This was true also of the movement begun by John the Baptist. They were both preaching about the Messianic kingdom which was just at the door, and were urging the people to get themselves ready for it by repentance. Some thought that John

was the Messiah. It is likely that Herod put him to death because of rumors to this effect. And Jesus had begun his work in connection with John. It is clear that the personality and preaching and work of Jesus caused many to wonder whether he might not be the Messiah. Some thought from the nature of his work and preaching that he was a re-embodiment of Elijah, or Elisha, for it was expected that Elijah would return before the day of the kingdom and the Messiah.³⁵ Others thought even that he was John the Baptist who had come to life.³⁶ And it seems to be certain that at times the disciples believed that he was the Messiah. His word attracted such attention that the Roman authorities crucified him on the charge that he was king of the Jews. No doubt they saw that a strong Messianic movement had developed or was developing, or they would not have executed Jesus. It is certain that the disciples were familiar with the popular thinking about Jesus as Messiah, and they knew the charge upon which he was put to death. So whether Jesus made Messianic claims for himself or not, these thoughts are another element of the influence of the personality of Jesus which entered into the materials in the mind of Peter out of which his vision was made.

In the mind of Peter, then, there was the belief that man has a soul which leaves his body at death, that souls often return after death, that this is true especially in the cases of innocent men violently slain, and in particular was this the case with great personages, in Judea, such as Elijah and Elisha and John the Baptist; there was in his mind the fact that in the case of Jesus all of these conditions were fulfilled; there was also the belief on the part of many that Jesus was the Messiah and his execution on that charge; and, finally, in the mind of Peter was the memory of all the personal associations which he had

enjoyed with Jesus, the tragedy of the cross and the emptiness in his life, from which his beloved master had been violently torn away.

x

It is in place here to observe that many visions have a very definite functional value. There are, of course, visions which derange the personality and drive the seer into abnormal states, which produce delirium and insanity ; there are those, moreover, which arise out of a pathological consciousness and continue the process of psychic disorganization ; but there are others which have a healing and restorative function for the person who has been disorganized and torn from his moorings and lead the seer out of the derangement back to the calm and poise of a wholesome psychic life. Such a vision always supplies a need ; it renders the help which is needed and at the time when it is needed.³⁷ All of the citations given above are evidence of this very fact. When Paul reached the limits of Asia a vision led him on to Europe.³⁸ When the relatives of the dead worshiped at the graves they got their communications. When the disciple of Apollonius of Tyana was meditating about his departed master a remarkable vision occurred in which the master returned to him.³⁹ The vision is always a product of a particular situation which has caused the need for it to arise, and not vice versa.

The visions which came to the patients in the temples of Aesculapius brought instructions for the cure of the disease. Note the following Greek inscription from 138 A. D. :

To Valerius Aper, a blind soldier, the god revealed that he should go and take blood of a white cock, together with honey, and rub them into an eye-salve and anoint his eyes three days. And he received his sight, and came and gave thanks publicly to the god.⁴⁰

And visions often assumed very elaborate forms in which the sick would see the divine messengers who came to perform the act of healing. The following second century A. D. papyrus is a case in point:

When I, too, afterwards was suddenly seized by pain in my right side, I quickly hastened to the helper of the human race, and he being again disposed to pity listened to me, and displayed still more effectively his peculiar clemency which as I am intending to mount his terrible powers I will substantiate— It was night when every living creature was asleep except those in pain, but divinity showed itself more effectively. A violent fever burned me, and I was convulsed with loss of breath and coughing, owing to the pain proceeding from my side. Heavy in the head with my troubles, I was lapsing half-conscious into sleep and my mother, as a mother would for her child (and she is by nature very affectionate) being extremely grieved at my agonies, was sitting without enjoying even a brief period of slumber, when suddenly she perceived—it was not dream or sleep, for her eyes were open immovably, though not seeing clearly for a divine and terrifying vision came to her, easily preventing her from observing the god himself or his servants, whichever it was. In any case there was some one whose height was more than human clothed in shining raiment and carrying in his left hand a book, who after merely regarding me two or three times from head to foot disappeared. When she had recovered herself she tried still trembling to wake me, and, finding that the fever had left me and that much sweat was pouring off me, did reverence to the manifestation of the god, and wiped me and made me more collected. When I spoke with her she wished to declare the virtue of the god, but I, anticipating her, told her all myself; for everything that she saw in visions appeared to me also in dreams. After these pains in my side had ceased and the god had given me another assuaging cure I proclaimed his benefits . . .⁴¹

When Peter returned to Galilee what was the greatest need of his life? What was the greatest yearning of his soul? Was it not some message that would lift him out of the gloom that had fallen over his spirit from the shadow of the cross? Would not a message from his master out of the realm of the dead supply this need? It must have been in such a mood that Peter went back to the familiar

scenes where he had been with Jesus—far away from the distractions of the feast and of the mob that had slain his Lord, where he had been too dazed to realize fully just what had happened—to his home by the sea.⁴²

So when Peter cast his nets into the sea again, he heard the voice of Jesus calling him from the shore just as he had done in days gone by; he recognized the familiar form there again through the mists of dawn; and his heart glowed within him as there came to him the certainty that his Master was not dead, but alive again, and that he had heard him speak as of old.⁴³ This time it was a message to gather together again the little flock that had been scattered by the persecution incident to the crucifixion of Jesus at the feast in Jerusalem.

The experience was as objective and real to Peter as was the appearance of Apollonius to the young man who had waited so long for a word from the life beyond to assure him that his master was yet alive; it was as real as the visions which came to those who lay upon their beds of affliction in the temples of Aesculapius and brought their messages of healing; and it was just as real to Peter as the visions of the Master's face and person which he had been used to seeing during the lifetime of Jesus. The distinction between a vision that is produced by the reaction of the physical eyes to rays of light reflected from external objects and one that is entirely the product of subjective processes does not exist for the seer. They are both equally real to him. Peter saw Jesus just as he was used to seeing him in the past. The vision was completely satisfying. It was the response to every craving of his soul. Coming as a true expression of his entire emotional life it was full and adequate; every feature of the need in Peter's soul found its counterpart in the vision which he saw. It was the functional value which

gave the vision its complete validity. It gave the satisfaction needed. That it gave Peter a new grip on life and filled him with such faith that he revived the faith of his brethren, is a fact of history. That we can partly analyze the experience by no means impairs its function or detracts from its reality or its value. The experience was of such a quality that Peter became the one who had the right to stand at the gate of the kingdom of heaven with its keys in his hands; and to him was given the power to bind and loose as he was directed by the spirit of Jesus. This position of honor and power in the early church is most certain evidence of the fact that "The Lord has actually risen and appeared to Simon!" Luke 24:34.

With all the materials in hand, however, out of which the vision arose, in spite of our desire to penetrate the last element of mystery that surrounds that radical experience out of which the Christian church has arisen, the *emergence* of the vision itself eludes the grasp of the analytical processes of our empirical methods. The vision cannot be completely explained at the present status of scientific investigation in these fields. It is not enough just to have pointed out the available material—in the way of certain beliefs, ecstatic personalities and situations involving unusual emotional strain—out of which a vision might have arisen. We know only that when these factors are present visions often occur. The vision was in itself a new phenomenon of the emotional life and was not merely a mechanical combination of those various elements, which our analysis has shown to have been at hand. The empirical method at the present time is really unable to do more than to present a descriptive analysis and cannot yet reach the final goal of complete explanation. It is not necessary to resort to the supernatural; such a procedure would only further complicate the problem. Any explanation must

keep within the limits of the laws of psychic phenomena that have been explored. The present attempt has been kept within the limits of a scientific worldview and of the empirical method. But after the scientific method has reached its limit there still remain questions that have not been answered—that is true whether the problem of investigation be in the field of material or psychic phenomena—and the veil of mystery is not completely lifted. That is not to place the vision of Peter in a class by itself; for it is true of the most familiar objects all about us. The philosopher has not yet given a complete definition of reality; matter has not been completely explored by the processes of the physical laboratory; the psychologist has not yet solved the riddle of consciousness; nor has the biologist been able entirely to comprehend the mutations through which life moves forward.

CHAPTER IV

JESUS THE CHRIST

The religious experience of the early church came to expression in two different ways: there was the speculative thinking about the person of Jesus which such men as Paul attempted to present in a systematic form; but, at the same time, as the counterpart of this speculation, there was the presentation of these same ideas about Jesus embodied in narratives. The latter process gave us our Gospels and the former our systems of theology. In the early church one cannot be understood without a consideration of the other. Neither is necessarily the product of the other, but that they developed side by side and are, therefore, closely inter-related, the one perhaps both influencing and being influenced by the other, is self-evident. It is clear, therefore, that if we can trace the stages of evolution in either line of development much light will be thrown upon the other. Thus, if we can outline the stages in the emergence of the Christology that reaches its climax in the Fourth Gospel, we shall have a direct criterion for the interpretation of the parallel process which was going on in the Gospel literature, and, by virtue of their character, especially in the resurrection narratives.

Of course, we cannot assume that Christological thinking and speculation proceeded with equal rapidity and was always uniform in all sections of the church, or that the interests in the person of Jesus in all sections of the church were at all times the same; rather, the contrary was

certainly the case. But the assumption is that in any particular case the views of the person of Jesus which a writer held were reflected in the life of Jesus which he wrote or which was the basis for his Christological thinking. We may expect, also, that there was considerable inter-relationship between the thinking of prominent persons such as Paul and other leaders and the influences which gave formulation to our Gospel material, so the explanation of the one should be of help in the understanding of the other. We do not limit the developing Christology to rational processes and formulations, but include the entire experience of the early church, both as individuals and groups, with every phase of personal and social religious living, as the process which determined the course of the growing belief about the person of Jesus. Thus we have to do with miraculous phenomena, with ecstatic experience of every kind, and with reflection and rationalization. The point of departure was Peter's vision of the risen Christ. What did this vision mean to Peter? What relation did it have to the developing Christology?

I

We cannot be quite certain of the precise meaning which Peter's vision had for him. He has not left us a record of it, and we can only reconstruct his interpretation from a few fragmentary statements of other men. No doubt the first account of it is given by Luke, "The Lord has actually risen and appeared to Simon" (24:34). In an equally brief way Paul records the event, "and that he appeared unto Cephas" (I Cor. 15:5). Do we have an intimation of what the vision meant to Peter in the confession made at Caesarea Philippi, attributed to him by the Synoptic writers? In Mark he says, "Thou art the Christ" (8:29). In Luke, "the Christ of God" (9:20). But in Matthew,

"Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God" (16:16). It is plain that here we do not have the original reaction of Peter to his vision experience, for the account given by Mark has been expanded in both Matthew and Luke. The later writers have made the confession more specific, and have greatly heightened the significance of the person of Jesus by adding, "of God," and "the Son of the living God." The additions by Matthew and Luke are of about equal content, only that Matthew is perhaps more awe-inspiring in writing out in full "the Son of," which may be implied, though not necessarily, in Luke, and "of the *living* God." At any rate, Matthew represents the most highly developed form of the three. And there is a wide gulf between his version and that of Mark.

So at least, one may conclude that we do not have an exact report of Peter's belief about his vision experience transferred back into the life of Jesus, at this point, by the evangelists. That Matthew thought there was some connection between Peter's belief about the personality of Jesus and his vision is indicated by the statement of Jesus, "flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but *my Father which is in heaven*." With the most liberal interpretation of this incident we would have Peter expressing the belief that Jesus was the Messiah. There is not necessarily any more in the confession than was implied by Jewish Messianic conceptions. There is no indication of the cosmic divinity of redemption who appears in later formulations. But it would be unreasonable, in the nature of the case, to expect Peter to hold all of the elaborate developments immediately after his vision experience. We may be certain that the first impression in the consciousness of Peter was the realization that his personal friend and teacher whom he loved was not dead, but had manifested himself alive. It is entirely possible

that Peter came to a more elaborate interpretation of the event after a time of reflection; it is very probable that such was the case. The Caesarea Philippi incident is a clear indication of the fact that Peter was the first one to come to the Messianic faith, probably both before and after the death of Jesus. There can be little doubt that the disciples entertained the belief at times, before the death of Jesus, that he might be the Messiah. That they held to this belief after his death is certain; but after his death the only possible interpretation was the apocalyptic rôle, while formerly it may have been the Davidic. This belief on the part of the disciples was not necessarily conditioned by Messianic consciousness on the part of Jesus; but may have been only their inference from the significant rôle that he was taking in their life.

II

The most important immediate significance of that first vision of Peter, in which he saw the risen Christ, was the effect which it had upon himself and his fellows. When Peter's faith in the continuing life of Jesus was attained as a result of his vision, his courage of former days returned and he went about strengthening his brethren. This fact is written in large letters across the face of the New Testament records. Luke had Jesus say explicitly to Peter: "Simon, Simon, behold, Satan asked to have you (*ὑμᾶς*), that he might sift you as wheat: but I made supplication for thee (*σοῦ*), that thy faith fail not; and do thou, when once thou hast turned again, establish thy brethren."¹ Here is implied both the denial and the despondency of the passion scenes, and the returning faith of the vision experience; and, moreover, the fact that Peter won back his brethren to their former faith. A similar reflection is clear in the statement of Jesus in the Caesarea Philippi

incident in Matthew, when Jesus gives to Peter the keys of the kingdom of heaven with all the authority that that implies. The same prominence of Peter in the life of the early church comes to light in the Johannine appendix, where Peter is represented as the shepherd of the flock which Jesus had gathered. All of these passages indicate that Peter was remarkably successful in reviving the faith of his brethren, and this was due to his vision of the risen Lord.

In addition to the statements about the work of Peter in this connection, there is much evidence of the actual results of his efforts. A large number of disciples had visions similar to Peter's, according to the record of Paul; there is further evidence in the statement of Acts that Jesus was with the disciples for forty days after the resurrection, eating and drinking with them; and all of the Gospel narratives of appearances reflect the same evidence of the influence of Peter and of his vision in the early church. Moreover, the Pentecost scene, and those immediately following, show a great manifestation of joy in the ecstatic experiences of the new faith. All of this warmth of spiritual life came as a result of the fire which was first lighted in Peter's own soul.

III

Now a strange thing happened. After the return of their faith these disciples began to preach that Jesus was exalted to the right hand of God, and would soon appear on the clouds of heaven to set up the Messianic kingdom. Jesus, now that he had survived death and was still alive, was identified with the Messiah of current apocalypticism. That this is true is shown by a comparison of the early preaching preserved in Acts, the letters of Paul in which the rôle is quite evident though hardly so central, the

Messianic discourses of Jesus preserved especially in the Synoptic Gospels—which represent no doubt, also, the content of early Christian preaching on this theme—, and the Messianism dominating the book of Revelation, with the Jewish apocalypticism found in the pseudepigraphical literature of the inter-biblical period. That the apocalyptic imagery has been taken over almost without alteration, with the exception that it is now applied to a definite person who lived for a time on earth, cannot be questioned. This was apparently the first step in the development of the elaborate Christology which appears at a later time.

The psychology of the transition is difficult to recover; in fact, we shall not be able to be certain that we have ever fully recovered it. But it is evident that Christianity came out of Jewish Messianism; that Jesus gave a large place to Messianic teaching; and that John the Baptist had done so before him. The movement of John was a continuation of a process of development which began at least as early as the Maccabean period, as shown by the book of Daniel. There was no place in early Christianity for the old form of Davidic Messianism, which longed for the deliverance of Palestine from foreign domination by the sword. It is very probable that this is a true reflection of the teaching of Jesus and of John.

Why did the disciples identify Jesus with the apocalyptic Messianic figure? The answer of the New Testament writers is that Jesus himself had taught that he was that character, and that, after his death and resurrection, he would assume that rôle. But the difficulty with the explanation is that there is no parallel in Jewish apocalypticism, from which Jesus must have taken the pattern for his thinking, for the earthly life of the Messiah, prior to his manifestation on the clouds, which could have suggested to Jesus that he himself might assume that rôle.

And there is no clear evidence for thinking that Jesus considered himself the Davidic Messiah, but, rather, all the teaching that is attributed to him indicates that he was opposed to the use of the sword. Either Jesus did not consider himself a Messiah, or he revised one of the existing Messianic rôles to suit his own situation, or devised a new one entirely. Schweitzer holds that Jesus revised the apocalyptic conception to fit his own case; that he is the culmination of apocalyptic thinking; and that he should not be interpreted in the light of the Jewish literature as a criterion, but that the Jewish literature should be approached from the teaching of Jesus about himself to be understood in its relation to Christian Messianism. The difficulty with this view is psychological. How can one conceive the personality of Jesus in this light? Bacon takes another course by saying that Jesus considered himself the Davidic Messiah but without political implications, thus giving this type of hope as radical a revision as that which Schweitzer predicates for the former; and the view has the same difficulty as Schweitzer's.² Another way out of the difficulty is that of supposing that Jesus rejected both views and considered himself the suffering-servant Messiah of Isaiah.³ But in this case, we find no evidence in Jewish literature that any such conception prevailed before the time of Jesus, and, we are faced with the necessity, therefore, of supposing that Jesus invented the rôle for himself, which is just as difficult as either of the former positions, since there is no occasion apparent which would have led him to devise such a new rôle.⁴

IV

Another alternative for the explanation of the suffering-servant rôle of Jesus, which is comprehensible from a psychological point of view, is that it was introduced as

an apologetic expedient by the early church. While it is not certain that Jesus made definite Messianic claims for himself, it is clear that soon after his death his disciples believed that he had been exalted to heaven and would soon be revealed in glory as the Messiah. But the fact of the suffering, humiliation and death of Jesus was well known. So the enemies reproached the disciples with this and pointed to it as evidence that Jesus could not be the Messiah with the favor of God resting upon him; for why would God allow him to suffer so? The answer was that it was all according to God's plan; that he had foreordained it;⁵ that it was necessary for the scriptures to be fulfilled;⁶ that Jesus fulfilled them;⁷ that only by suffering could he attain perfection;⁸ and, thus finally, that he should enter into his glory.⁹ This suggestion that the disciples found the suffering-servant rôle in the scriptures and applied it to Jesus as an apologetic device is comprehensible in the light of the great use that was made of the scriptures for that purpose in the early church. The reason for this is that both Christians and Jews, against whom this apologetic was directed, held the scriptures as the basis of authority. Each one therefore founded his argument on scripture where possible.

It is clear, therefore, that Jesus taught that the existing order was about to be dissolved by God's Messiah, who would appear in great glory in the clouds and bring all to an end, though it is not certain that he thought of himself in that rôle, and it is possible that he had no notion that he was a Messiah of any type. But under the inspiration of Peter's experience, in which the risen Jesus appeared to him, many other visions occurred, and the conviction became general that Jesus was yet alive, that death had no power over him. The good news spread rapidly, no doubt. The belief in the imminency of the Messianic kingdom of

which Jesus had spoken so frequently, was revived and was greatly strengthened by the purging sorrow through which the disciples had gone; and with it came the memories that some had thought that Jesus was the Messiah while he lived. They remembered how their "hearts burned within them" as they had listened to his words. And although no more than a mere conjectural reconstruction of the psychology can be made, due to the conviction that he was still alive, some one grasped the idea that it was this Jesus himself who would soon return to them on the clouds and set up the new kingdom by the power of God, with whom he had lived in the closest co-operation and fellowship while on earth. We should not assume that this conviction came immediately after the visions. There had to be time for their minds to adjust themselves; and it is quite possible that the suggestion came from some individual who had not known Jesus in the flesh but did know of the glorified Jesus who was living since the grave. For such a one the transition to the idea that this living spirit, who had survived the tomb, and the Messiah at God's right hand, who was soon to appear, and of whom the disciples were preaching, were one and the same being, would be natural. At any rate, the identification was made.

Although the exact details of the psychological process cannot be recovered, we can see that all the material from which the process of thought could have been constructed was in the minds of the disciples: Jewish Messianism, the teaching of Jesus, the visions of Jesus and the conviction that he was still alive, and a tremendous power of the personality of Jesus in their hearts, which had made them suspect even during his life that he was the Messiah. All this blended together and emerged as a living reality, under the stress of the sorrow after the cross and with the

birth of the joyous resurrection faith, in the form of the Messiah in heavenly glory. The next logical step was that the figure of the suffering-servant of Isaiah should be identified with Jesus, and that all his experiences should be interpreted from that point of view, as an apologetic against the Jews who denied the Messianic claims.

v

Another equally important step in the developing Christology was the transition by which the living Master became the glorified Lord (*Kύπειος*) of the Christian community. We cannot say just how early this took place. Bousset has argued that it occurred after the Christian movement had expanded beyond the regions of Palestine and had begun to claim as its converts those from the gentile lands who were familiar with the lords of the various cults, such as Attis, Adonis, Dionysus, etc.; and that the Lord of the Christian community lost its Jewish connotation and kinship with Jewish Messianism. While admitting the main contention of Bousset, Professor Case questions the conclusion that Jesus as Lord has lost all of the Jewish connotation, showing rather that the Lord is Jesus Christ, and that the development may have taken place even on Jewish soil.¹⁰ It is clear, however, that, while Bousset overstated his position, his thesis that there was a transition which took over the idea which prevailed in the gentile cults of a Lord in control of the community in mystical fellowship and sacramental contact with believers, has been sustained. Paul is the first great example of this conception, and the Fourth Gospel is another. Paul wrote, "I have been crucified with Christ; and it is no longer I that live, but Christ liveth in me; and that life which I now live in the flesh I live in faith, the faith which is in the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself up

for me”;¹¹ “now the Lord is the Spirit”;¹² “Know ye not that ye are a temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?”;¹³ “and ye cannot partake of the table of the Lord and of the table of demons.”¹⁴

The Fourth Gospel has a similar way of thinking: “And I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another comforter, that he may be with you forever, even the Spirit of truth; whom the world cannot receive; for it beholdeth him not, neither knoweth him; ye know him; for he abideth with you, and shall be in you. I will not leave you desolate; I come unto you”;¹⁵ and “If a man love me, he will keep my word: and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him.”¹⁶ And a very similar teaching appears even in the Gospel of Matthew, “For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them”;¹⁷ and, “lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world.”¹⁸

The evidence of this stage of Christological thinking could be multiplied, especially from Paul and the Fourth Gospel. But it is only necessary to point to the fact that this type of mysticism, which brings salvation through contact of natures, of the human with the divine substance, through the communion that comes from participation in the authorized sacraments, is the same that appeared in many of the cults of the gentile world, in which the divinity entered into or possessed the devotee and brought him immortality.¹⁹ By making the transition from the purely Jewish Messianism in order to allow a place in its Christology for this mystical and sacramental communion with the Lord, the functional value of Christianity was increased many fold; and it was able to continue its career of conquest in a world which felt the inherent evil nature of the flesh and the need of contact with the divine nature to attain salvation. And it was a very natural process. The

vision experiences which characterized the early church were an excellent preparation and point of departure for this new transition; and the influence of the gentile cults, which had extended even into Palestine, as shown by recent excavations there,²⁰ and the reception of large numbers of cult devotees into the church, both in Palestine and out in the lands where the Christian mission was propagated,²¹ combined with the vision experiences and the early Christian Messianism to bring the transition to its consummation.

VI

One further remarkable development in the Christology was the feature contributed by the Fourth Gospel in the Logos idea. At this point the journey from Palestine to Greece, in terminology at least, became complete. Jesus has now, in addition to being the apocalyptic Messiah and cult Lord, the rôle of the pre-existent Logos—the divine principle of rationalistic pantheism of the Stoics, and the personified agent of God in the speculation of Philo—in which he came into the world and became incarnate in Jesus.²² A similar idea had already appeared in Paul, although not in a philosophical form.²³ The conception is the same as that, also, which furnished the basis for the Gnostic type of speculation in the Jewish wisdom literature, the Odes of Solomon, the Gnostic apocryphal acts of the Christian church, and of the Mandean literature, which has recently been published in a reliable translation.²⁴ It is an elaborate mythus which presents the experiences of a divine being who dwelled with God in the heavenly world, who comes to earth to bring to lost man a message of redemption—a message of truth to a world of falsehood, a ray of light in cosmic darkness—and then returns to the

divine abode from whence he came. In adopting the Logos conception as the expression for the cosmic significance of Jesus, the Fourth Gospel has stated its message in a way that would be acceptable to the Greeks, who would read into the Logos terminology the Stoic ideas, to the Alexandrian school who would see the allegory of Philo, to the Gnostic circles, such as appear in the Jewish wisdom speculation and in the Mandean religion later on—although the date of the origin of this religion is by no means certain—and would still maintain his Jewish followers, or at least a part of them; for this Gospel still retains some strong traces of the older apocalyptic imagery; and, also, because in some of the pre-Christian Jewish apocalypticism there was a notion of a pre-existent Messiah. In a passage dated in the early part of the last century B. C., we have, "From the beginning the Son of Man was hidden, And the Most High preserved him in the presence of his might, and revealed him to the elect."²⁵ We can see thus how natural it was for the Christian author of the Fourth Gospel to enrich his Christology with this new interpretation of the significance of Jesus.

These three stages then—the apocalyptic Messiah, the cult Lord, and the Logos—are the three pivotal points in the early Christian teaching about Jesus. All of the cosmic and redemptive aspects of the work of Jesus, expressed by various figures in the New Testament, appear to have their genesis in one or another or all of these three conceptions. It would be misleading to think of these stages as separate from one another. No doubt, in many cases, when a new transition was made the old form was preserved also; so thus it is that our New Testament writings in some places reveal material in a stratified form which defies final critical analysis.

VII

Parallel with these major transitions in the early Messianic teaching, there developed several very important corollaries. Some of them assumed such great significance for the experience of the church that the earlier premises were pushed into the background by the conceptions which arose out of them.

The first of these was the doctrine of the resurrection of Jesus from the dead. This is a corollary of the belief that Jesus was now seated in an exalted position at the right hand of God, after having proved himself alive by appearing to his disciples, whereas it was a well known fact that he had been dead at one time and was buried. The two certain facts were the death and the present glory at God's right hand. The only possible way to account for both of these facts was to postulate the resurrection of Jesus from Hades, the realm of the dead. Under such circumstances, it was unnecessary that some one should have been present to see the body of Jesus come out of the grave. A resurrection was so evident that there were no questions about it on the part of those who had seen the Lord in the risen life. Nor was there any difficulty in postulating a resurrection from the dead, for such a phenomenon was not unusual in the thought of the time. There had been men raised from the dead in the Old Testament times;²⁶ Judaism allowed that in some cases rabbis might raise the dead;²⁷ and many examples were said to have been reported in the Gentile world.²⁸ The occasion for postulating a resurrection of Jesus probably came when enemies who had seen him crucified and buried ridiculed the idea of his being a Messiah in heavenly glory. The Christian answer to their ridicule was convincing because it made use of recognized presuppositions and

drew a logical deduction from them. The idea of a resurrection seems to have been entirely secondary, since Paul has given no account of it, and there is no description of the actual act of rising itself until the Gospel of Peter; but eventually the act itself assumed large proportions and genuine functional value in the Gospel story.

The next stage in the development is the *descensus*, drawn as a corollary from the same two premises as the resurrection.²⁹ Here again it is likely that the influence of Christian apologetic may be seen, for the charge had to be refuted that the death and rising again were mere inventions, that Jesus had not really died but had only appeared to die; that in reality his weakened and swooning body had been revived by his disciples, and the return of consciousness had only appeared to be a rising from the dead. So it was necessary to show that Jesus had actually gone into the realm of the departed spirits and returned. Here again they found material ready for developing this thought, for they discovered in the Old Testament that the Messiah should make a temporary sojourn in Hades, just as Jonah had been for three days and nights in the whale,³⁰ and as David had said, "Thou wilt not leave my soul in Hades."³¹ So there could be no reason at all to call in question the actual visit of Jesus to the abode of the dead. And also in the gentile world there were numerous stories about persons who had gone into Hades and returned, which, although they were probably regarded by most persons at the time as pure inventions of the imagination, show that the thought was not difficult for that world. Plutarch tells of a fantastic dream in which the soul went into the infernal regions and returned.³² Diodorus relates the story of Orpheus who journeyed into Hades to recover his wife Eurydice, of Bacchus who recovered his mother Semele, and of Hercules who brought

up the monster Cerberus from the lower world.³³ There were also the stories told by Herodotus about the Egyptian king Rhampsinitus who sent down into Hades and returned with a golden napkin which he won at dice with Demeter,³⁴ and of Salmoxis the Thracian slave who spent three years hidden in a dwelling in the earth and then returned with a message of immortality.³⁵ Other similar myths are cited by the Jew quoted by Celsus.³⁶ None of these myths are very similar to that of the *descensus* of Jesus but they show that such a conception was not foreign to the thought of the time and that there would have been no psychological difficulty in thinking of Jesus in this way.

Another step in the development, which came as the evident corollary of the belief that Jesus had been exalted to heaven, where he had sat down at the right hand of God, was the idea of the ascension. Jesus had risen from the dead after his descent into Hades; then he appeared at various times over a period of forty days to his disciples; and now he was with the Father in heaven which was somewhere above the earth. So it was necessary that some place be found for the transition from earth to heaven. This development probably recognizes the fact also that the appearances of Jesus to his followers had ceased in frequency; and the ascension accounted for that fact. The belief in an ascension of Jesus was in line with popular thinking both in Judaism and in the religions of the gentiles. The Old Testament told of how Enoch had gone to be with God without the experience of death,³⁷ of Moses, whose grave no man had even seen,³⁸ and of Elijah, who had gone up to heaven in a chariot of fire.³⁹

How familiar was the idea in the Graeco-Roman world in the *apotheosis* of the *divus* and in the cult stories, is well established by the words of Justin, "And when we say

also that the Word, who is the first-birth of God, was produced without sexual union, and that he, Jesus Christ our teacher, was crucified and died, and rose again, and ascended into heaven, we propound nothing different from what you believe regarding those whom you esteem sons of Jupiter. For you know how many sons your esteemed writers ascribed to Jupiter: Mercury, the interpreting word and teacher of all; Aesculapius, who, though he was a great physician, was struck by a thunderbolt, and so ascended to heaven; and Bacchus, too, after he had been torn limb from limb; and Hercules, when he had committed himself to the flames to escape his toils; and the sons of Leda, and the Dioscuri; and Perseus, son of Danae; and Bellerophon, who, though sprung from mortals, rose to heaven on the horse Pegasus. For what shall I say of Ariadne, and those who, like her, have been declared to be set among the stars? And what of the emperors who die among yourselves, whom you deem worthy of deification, and in whose behalf you produce some one who swears he has seen the burning Caesar rise to heaven from the funeral pyre?"⁴⁰

In the light of these ascension narratives it is clear that this development in the thinking about Jesus was acceptable to the mind of the Mediterranean world. Another idea which probably contributed to the development of this feature of the narratives was the belief in the pre-existence of Jesus. As shown above, pre-existence had been ascribed to the Jewish apocalyptic Messiah. In Christian thinking it was used by Paul; but the doctrine found its classic expression in the Logos teaching of the Johannine prologue. This teaching made it necessary to think of Jesus as having descended out of heaven to take upon himself the form of a man, the incarnation, so what could be more fitting than that, at the close of his earthly

career, he should ascend visibly back to the place from whence he had come?

Flowing out of the conception that Jesus had become the potential apocalyptic Messiah, seated at God's right hand, also, was that of his imminent return to the earth in glory to set up the kingdom. It is very evident that this belief dominated the beginning church. It was the basis of the Pauline teaching about marriage; it was one of the strongest incentives to good conduct; and it even led to carelessness about practical business relations. That notions were developed about the manner of the reappearance of Jesus is shown by the statement of the men in white at the close of the ascension scene. However, the ideas about the manner of the return were quite varied, being drawn freely from the apocalyptic Messianism, both of Jews and of gentiles, such, for example, as the Stoic conflagration. Thus the Christian formulation was acceptable both to Jews and gentiles.

Still another development was the belief in the abiding presence of Jesus with his disciples. This is the natural corollary of the belief in Jesus as the Lord of the community. The Lord dwelled with his church and in it. He was in communion with the believers. But, more than that, he was in them. This is the view which pervades the Pauline teaching; it characterizes the Fourth Gospel; and is found in Matthew. In Paul and Matthew the view is quite clearly only the reflection of the belief in the cult Lord. In John it is that, but more. It is a turning away from the expectancy of the immediate return of Jesus. The return has been long delayed. Perhaps even it is not desired. It is indicated that the presence of Jesus in this spiritual sense in continuing fellowship with his disciples is more to be desired than his actual physical presence, "It is expedient for you that I go away; for if I go not

away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I go, I will send him unto you."⁴¹

What was likely the final elaboration of the Christology which is recorded in the New Testament is the Pentecost scene. This follows as a corollary, apparently, of the belief in the abiding presence of Jesus with the disciples through the medium of the Holy Spirit. Jesus could not logically be in heaven and on earth at the same time. Still he was held to be seated there. It was a fact of experience that the Spirit was present with the disciples and that, no doubt, due to the influence of the cult idea. Jesus and the spirit were used interchangeably in the thinking of the Pauline communities;⁴² it was there that the idea of the cult Lord developed; it was there that the ecstatic phenomena were so familiar; it was mainly there that Luke had gotten the material for the *Acts of Apostles*; and so it was but natural that Luke should complete the rationale of the narrative of redemption by dating the return of Jesus to the disciples through the medium of the Spirit at the definite time of Pentecost, when there is said to have been the first really important manifestation of the ecstatic phenomena growing out of the new faith that Jesus had risen from the dead.

With this survey of the emergence of the Christology before us, we can see many conflicting conceptions. We must not assume that all of them were held by any one individual or group at the same time. The completed Christology as we have outlined it was held as one unified rationale only after the documents which embody the various conceptions had been brought together, so that all might be seen in a complete perspective at one time. The conflicting features had to be adjusted to one another and to be properly systematized. It required time for that to be done in detail. It is not assumed here that a precise ar-

rangement, either logically or chronologically, can be made. But the general development is clear, and the main outline seems to have been as presented here. What we have is the clearest evidence of the vitality of the early Christian movement. It was living. It was growing. No doubt, the very inconsistencies of the various conceptions with one another were realized by the Christians themselves. By this realization they were led on to new formulations, in response to the new situations that arose, in different regions and environments.

It would be an error to think of the development of the entire Christology as a result of Peter's vision, although his vision was at the beginning point of the growth that has been outlined here. The entire process was genetically related to that experience of Peter, but the vision itself was by no means a spontaneous phenomenon. It very truly had a tremendous influence in creating the situation which followed, but it was also just as surely the product of the situation out of which it arose. In such processes of development the operating forces are so complicated, that, while we can trace genetic relations, we are not able to discover the point of ultimate origin. It would be just as impossible to trace the Christian movement with its elaborate Christology back to its ultimate origin as to find the beginning of the Protestant Reformation or the emergence of the spirit of democracy for the first time. In each case a man was important, but he was just as much a product of the situation as was the movement with which he was connected. He was one of the factors, created by the situation, though never fully explained by it, and in turn influencing the situation which followed. And yet, in spite of the fact that ultimate causes remain beyond the reach of an objective, empirical method, so far as causative factors emerge as objective phenomena at all, and become

in any way tangible and comprehensible, it is legitimate and correct to designate as the decisive moment in the beginning of the Christian church and as the foundation upon which the Christian story of redemption rests, that radical experience of Peter with the risen Christ, out of which all subsequent faith sprang, which was told for the first time in the simple words, "The Lord has actually risen and appeared to Simon!" (Luke 24:34). In the light of that significant experience the whole life of Jesus and the death on the cross were believed to have a new meaning, in their true perspective, as necessary parts of God's plan for human and cosmic redemption, for they were seen to be but links in the vast divine chain reaching from eternity to eternity which God had forged in his effort to bring all mankind back to himself.

VIII

It was this elaborate thinking about Jesus as Christ which formed the cult story of the early church. It began with the historical Jesus but soon became super-historical. In this way it was different from other cult stories of the time, such as those of Attis, Adonis, Osiris, Mithra, etc., which had no historical basis whatever, but it was similar to them in that they too told the story of saviors who had died and risen again from the dead, who were now the center of the worship of their respective cults. But the meaning of cult stories does not necessarily depend upon the historical basis of the incidents related, after they have once attained their place as the centers of religions, for they express the faith that persons hold about things that transcend the limits of this visible and tangible world; and such beliefs are not less, nor more, true according to the historical truth or falsity of the narrative which has become their symbol. Of course, when the believer under-

takes to demonstrate the validity of his faith in invisible and intangible verities by the actual historical nature of the narrative which he uses as their symbol he runs the risk of losing his faith, for in such cases his faith is always at the mercy of scientific and historical research. In such a way the Christology of the early church, which formed its cult story, while it was founded on the historical facts of the life of Jesus, developed along lines that transcended the course of history, which could not then, and can not now, be historically verified, but the truths symbolized are not dependent upon historical research and the believer will do well to keep this in mind. The development of the Christology is the story of the creative experience of early Christians, in which the historical Jesus was completely transformed into the heavenly Christ. The reality involved was their faith, beginning as it did with the historical Jesus, and it conceived the Christology in absolute and infinite terms because it found it such in its experience. The fault to be found with such an analysis as this study presents is that it calls attention to certain phases of the symbols which did not have an actual historical basis and thereby tends to obscure the vitality of the faith which those symbols sought to express; for after all the Christology must be viewed as the effort of early Christians to formulate their experience of the values, quests, satisfactions, and ideals, which they found in their lives, in infinite terms.

CHAPTER V

“ON THE THIRD DAY”

I

The problem here raised for investigation is the scripture basis of the belief in the early church that the resurrection of Jesus occurred on the third day. The earliest reference to the three days feature of the resurrection narrative is the statement of Paul, “he hath been raised the third day according to the scriptures” (1 Cor. 15:4). In each of the four Gospels the resurrection is related to have taken place on Sunday, i.e., on the third day, but in spite of their agreeing on the day of the resurrection the Gospels reflect the existence of traditions that do not harmonize with “on the third day.”

The Gospel of Mark relates that when the women came to the tomb “very early on the first day of the week,” which was the third day, a young man informed them that Jesus had risen. The time of the visit was “when the sun had risen” (16:2). That is the view of the author of the Gospel, but incidentally he reveals further data: Jesus three times foretells his resurrection “after three days” (8:31; 9:31; 10:34); he is accused of having said that he could rebuild the temple “in three days” (14:58); and on the cross he is taunted with being the one who said he could “destroy the temple and rebuild it in three days” (15:30). So while the author of Mark is definite in saying the resurrection took place on the first day of the week, i.e., the third day, he presents other material that is not entirely in harmony with that view.

In the Gospel of Matthew it is stated that the women came to the tomb "early on the first day of the week" (28:1); Matthew takes over the three prophecies of the resurrection from Mark but corrects "after three days" to "on the third day" (16:21; 17:23; 20:19); the accusation recorded by Mark, "in three days," is taken over without change (26:61); the taunt on the cross, "in three days," is left unchanged (27:40); he introduces a statement of the Jews to Pilate, "after three days" (27:63); and also the reference to Jonah "so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth" (12:40). In addition to his revision of Mark, therefore, Matthew provides the entirely new datum about Jonah.

Luke states that the women went to the tomb "very early on the first day of the week" (24:1); he changes Mark's first and third cases of "after three days" to "on the third day" (9:22; 18:33), and drops out the second entirely (9:44); either he adds an entirely new example of "on the third day" in the post-resurrection statement of Jesus, or, what is possible, this is the reappearance in a different form of the Markan passage which he earlier omitted (24:46); since he has a different passion source, the accusation and taunt do not appear; and what may be still another version of the omitted Markan saying is the statement of the angel to the women that Jesus while in Galilee had foretold his resurrection "on the third day" (24:7). Another example of Luke's view is the statement of Peter to Cornelius that God had raised Jesus from the dead "on the third day" (Acts 10:40), providing therefore six examples of the uniform usage of the third evangelist.

In the Gospel of John, the visit of Mary to the grave was "on the first day of the week while it was yet dark" (20:1); and the only additional evidence on the question

is the statement of Jesus, "destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it" (2:19). However, a note of interest relative to the length of time required for the spirit of the dead to depart from the body is Martha's statement about her brother, "indeed he decays, for it is the fourth day" (11:39). John is consistent, as was Luke, in holding that Jesus rose from the dead on the third day.

The second century Gospel of Peter, which is the first writing to give a description of the actual rising of Jesus, relates, "Now in the night whereon the Lord's Day dawned, as the soldiers were keeping guard two by two in every watch, there came a great sound in the heaven, etc."¹ The apostolic fathers agree in placing the resurrection on the first day of the week, though there is no specific mention of the third day.²

The earliest extra-canonical actual mention of the three days is found in the Apology of Aristides, "Ipse ab Iudaeis crucifixus est, et mortuus et sepultus est, et dicunt post tres dies eum resurrexisse et ad caelos ascendisse."³ Its next appearance is in Justin, "for the Lord hung on the tree until almost evening and at eventide they buried him; then on the third day he arose."⁴

II

While it is clear that by the time the early literature reached its final form it was uniformly recognized that the resurrection took place on the third day, nevertheless, there remain indications of other traditions which existed at one time side by side with the third day and were eventually displaced by it.

(1) There is considerable evidence of a tradition that the resurrection occurred on the same day as the crucifixion. Matthew tells of the saints that were raised on that day, "and coming forth out of the tombs after his resur-

rection they entered into the holy city and appeared unto many" (27:52-53). This passage shows the confusion caused by the union of the one-day tradition with that of the third day, so that the saints who were raised were compelled to remain unsheltered in or about the tomb from Friday until Sunday before Jesus rose from the dead, that they might go with him into the city. The Gospel of Peter also reflects this tradition in its description of the ascension from the cross.⁵ Still stronger evidence of this same tradition is the quartodeciman practice of the second century of celebrating both the death and resurrection on the same day, Nisan fourteenth.⁶

(2) A tradition that the resurrection was after three days and three night is shown by Matthew's reference to Jonah (12:30), and also in the Syriac *Didascalia*.

(3) Furthermore, there is evidence of a tradition that the resurrection occurred after the feast of Unleavened Bread. The last fragment of the Gospel of Peter breaks off with the statement that it was the last day of Unleavened Bread, and the feast was at an end, when the disciples in sorrow were returning home to their nets. The fragment no doubt at one time at this point contained an account of the Lord's appearance to the disciples, almost ten days from the crucifixion.⁷ Evidence to the same effect may be the reference in Acts to the forty days in which Jesus taught the disciples before the ascension (1:3), and the remark of Tertullian, "But he spent forty days with some of his disciples down in Galilee."⁸

That some of the early Christians were embarrassed by these contradictions in the traditions about the resurrection is shown by the effort of the third century Syriac *Didascalia* to account for the three days and three nights: "those hours during which our Lord hung on the cross were reckoned as one day. After that moreover was a

darkness of three hours and it was reckoned as one night, and from the ninth hour to the evening the three hours were one day; and after that the night of the Sabbath suffering. . . . And again the day of the Sabbath in which our Lord slept and then rose."⁹

III

This confusion in the early tradition about the day of the resurrection raises the question as to the origin of the third day view which finally prevailed. The evangelists themselves indicate that Jesus had predicted his resurrection, but the "after three days" of Mark and "three days and three nights" of Matthew do not agree with that view; for, if Jesus predicted his resurrection on the third day, in three days, after three days, and after three days and three nights, as is variously reported, the lack of agreement would have been confusing to the early disciples who saw the visions of their risen Lord. This view is fraught with extreme difficulty also when one faces the problem of the Messianic consciousness of Jesus; for it is not only a problem how or why Jesus predicted his resurrection at some definite time near the third day but a real question whether he predicted his resurrection at all. The Gospel of Mark excludes the view that "on the third day" was due to an appearance of Jesus to the disciples on that day by the remark that the women who had seen him told no one and by the clear evidence that the first visions were in Galilee (14:28; 16:7); so it was impossible for the disciples who were on that day still in Jerusalem to see Jesus in Galilee on that same day. Whatever else may be said about the Messianic consciousness of Jesus it is clear that, as time passed after his death, in the thinking of the disciples the views of Jesus about himself were heightened in various ways. The prophecies of his resurrection are a case

in point; for after the vision experiences the disciples saw many things that Jesus had said in a different light. An example of this is the saying about building the temple again in three days. Mark, followed by Matthew, gives this as part of the false testimony against Jesus before the Sanhedrin; Luke, strangely, does not have any reference to this saying at all; but it appears again in John, and, this time, not as false testimony against Jesus, but as one of the great sayings predicting his resurrection, although it was not understood until the disciples looked back upon it in the light of the vision experiences (John 2:18-22). If we could penetrate back far enough into the origin of the early traditions many of them would probably exhibit a development similar to this saying about the temple. It is not clear therefore that "on the third day" is to be attributed either to the specific prediction of Jesus or to his appearance to the disciples on that day.

Looking further we note that some of the New Testament writers do not attribute "on the third day" to either of the above causes but derive it from scripture. Paul, the earliest writer, makes his view clear when he says "he hath been raised on the third day according to the scriptures" (I Cor. 15:4); Luke reports that Jesus opened their minds, that they might understand the scriptures in which it was written that "the Christ should suffer, and rise again from the dead the third day, etc." (24:46); and John shows that he attributed the belief to the scriptures by saying, relative to the temple, which could be rebuilt in three days, "When therefore he was raised from the dead, his disciples remembered that he spake this; and they believed the scripture, and the word which Jesus had said" (2:22). Although attributing "on the third day" to scripture, however, neither of these writers

mentions the scripture that he has in mind. To what passage, if any, did they refer?

IV

In the early preaching relative to the resurrection, Psalms 16 and 110 and Isaiah 53 were so important and so much used that they are incorporated in the sermons in Acts (2:25 ff.; 2:34; 8:32); but all these are silent about the third day, so the statements of Paul, Luke and John are not derived from them.

The only scripture used in the New Testament as a basis for the three days is the reference to Jonah, and the passage in which it is contained has an instructive history in the different sources. According to Mark, Jesus at one time on being asked for a sign replied, "no sign shall be given to this generation" (8:12). Luke and Matthew both revise this statement of Mark allowing a sign to be given and referring to Jonah as the sign. Luke revised Mark by saying, "No sign shall be given it except the sign of Jonah" (11:29); and he indicates that he refers to the preaching of Jonah which was similar to that of Jesus by adding shortly, "The men of Nineveh shall stand up in the Judgment with this generation and condemn it because they repented at the preaching of Jonah, and behold a greater than Jonah is here" (11:29-32). Now Matthew gives an exact parallel to this material of Luke (16:4; 12:39-41). This agreement is to be explained by the assumption that both of them here use the Q source which itself originated the reference to the preaching of Jonah. But not satisfied with the Q usage of Jonah, Matthew revises again and this time adds the specific reference to the three days and three nights (12:40). There are therefore three stages in the history of this context; first, Jesus denies any sign whatever, ac-

cording to Mark; second, reference is made to the preaching of Jonah as being similar to that of Jesus, according to *Q*; and third, Matthew adds the interpretation of Jonah which makes his three days and nights a prophecy of the time that Jesus is to be in the heart of the earth. The appearance of this Jonah reference in Matthew shows that it was made use of in the preaching, and it was indeed appropriate and conclusive. It is the only Old Testament scripture used in the New Testament to establish the three days motif. However, analysis of the sources as above shows that this scripture began to be used comparatively late; Paul, Mark, *Q* and Luke all show no evidence of knowing of it; and it appears first in Matthew. In view of its germaneness we can scarcely believe that the earlier writers knew of it but passed it over; so we conclude that this was not the passage in the mind of Paul, Luke or John, upon which belief in "on the third day" was based. It should be noted too that the three days and three nights of the Jonah narrative do not agree with "on the third day" of the early tradition. This divergence together with the fact that the Jonah reference does not appear in the earliest tradition practically eliminates this passage as a source of "on the third day"; and in eliminating this passage we give up the most likely one in the early tradition, in fact the only one that at all approaches the requirements of the case. We are compelled to admit, if Paul and Luke and John had any definite passage in mind, which is not at all certain, that they have not left enough evidence of it to enable us to recover it at this time.

v

While it is true that no clear trace remains of any definite passage used by the earliest tradition or by Jesus in establishing "on the third day," there are nevertheless

many investigators who have searched the Old Testament for passages that might have been used; out of numerous possibilities Hosea 6:1-3 has often been cited as a very likely passage; and some writers have felt quite certain that this passage was not only in the mind of the early disciples but was also in the mind of Jesus and caused him to predict his own resurrection "on the third day."¹⁰ Now if this passage was used at all in the thinking of Jesus, or of any of those whose experiences lie back of the New Testament writings, we would normally expect some reference to it in some of those writings. The writers have obviously made great effort to find support for their views in Old Testament scriptures and it is not too much to presume that everywhere they have cited the scripture most germane to the case being considered; but none of these writers has left any reference to this passage from Hosea. Modern scholars have assumed that this scripture was important and used in the thinking of the earliest Christians, but have never (so far as I have seen) cited a case where it was used either in the New Testament or later Christian writings. Bowen has attempted to show that this scripture was used in the Jewish Messianic speculation current at the time, so that it would naturally have entered into Christian thinking. On the point, however, he cites the use of this scripture in the Jonathan Targum which came into its present form not earlier than the fifth century and in the passage cited the scripture is not given a Messianic interpretation but refers to a general resurrection of the dead;¹¹ and in this Targum the three days motif of this Hosea passage has entirely fallen away, so that aside from the late date of the source from which it comes it has slight value for the purpose for which it was cited.

Other examples of this passage in rabbinic usage from

the third century on are cited by Strack-Billerbeck, which may possibly reflect interpretations current in the first century; but they refer to a general resurrection and the end of the world and make no specific reference to the Messiah or to the death of any particular person.¹² If this rabbinic interpretation was current in Jesus' day and he adopted it as his own, his teaching was not about himself and his own personal resurrection, except as a member of the race which should face these last things, but was relative to things which made up the Jewish eschatology of the time; so that if the views of the disciples with regard to the third day were derived from teaching of Jesus of this sort they transformed it after his death to make it apply to him personally and gave it a meaning which it never had when it came from him.

In the Christian tradition (so far as I have been able to discover) the first person to make actual application of the Hosea passage to the resurrection of Jesus was Tertullian. He makes use of this scripture twice. The first instance is in *Against Marcion* IV. xlivi: "It was very meet that the man who buried the Lord should thus be noticed in prophecy, and thenceforth be 'blessed'; since prophecy does not omit the (pious) office of the women who resorted before daybreak to the sepulchre with the spices which they had prepared. For of this incident it is said by Hosea: 'To seek my face they will watch till daylight, saying, Come, and let us return to the Lord: for he hath stripped, and he will heal us; he hath smitten, and he will bind us up; after two days will he revive us; on the third day we shall rise up.'"¹³ One other time Tertullian makes the same use and application of this scripture.¹⁴ Both times he gives a very free translation and usage of this text, so that it is doubtful whether he had the Hebrew, LXX, or an earlier Latin translation before him; and his interpreta-

tion exhibits great acumen and cleverness in the use of the prophets. In the literal meaning of the Hebrew יִשְׁחַרְנָנִי or LXX ὁρθρισθεῖ (the root meaning in each case is “dawn,” and as a verb, “to seek diligently or earnestly as at dawn”) Tertullian has discovered a prophecy of the women who are said to have gone early, while it was yet dark, bearing their spices to the tomb; and in Hosea’s proverbial two or three days, meaning a short time after which Israel and Judah struck down by Yahweh for their sins shall be revived, he finds the resurrection of Jesus from the dead on the third day. This scripture corresponds exactly to the requirements of “on the third day”; in fact, it fits the needs of the case so well that its absence from the New Testament and literature before the time of Tertullian is incomprehensible in view of the scarcity of scripture basis for this very feature of the resurrection narrative, unless we assume that Tertullian himself was the first one to use it. It should be noted also, however, that this scripture satisfies the requirements of “on the third day” but not of “after three days” or “three days and three nights”; it could not have been the basis for all these predictions in the sayings of Jesus or in the thinking of the early disciples; and so it is more probable that this scripture, as well as the reference to Jonah, was an after-thought, and was used as a validation of a tradition that had arisen on other grounds. And really any particular scripture would be under the same difficulty; it could not satisfy the demands of the various expressions of the third day tradition.

After the time of Tertullian this Hosea passage appears frequently and is used with the same interpretation. It appears twice in Cyprian¹⁵ and twice in Lactantius.¹⁶ Lactantius indeed finds proof of “on the third day” in a

prophecy which he quotes from the Sibyl: "And after sleeping three days, he shall put an end to the fate of death; and then, releasing himself from the dead, he shall come to light, first showing to the called ones the beginning of the resurrection." These later writers in their use of Hosea are probably dependent upon Tertullian, and they also connect various other Old Testament references with the resurrection of Jesus which quite clearly were discovered by persons later than Jesus and the New Testament age in their quest for scriptural certainty.¹⁷

Our conclusion is, therefore, that "on the third day" did not have its origin in some Old Testament scripture, although Paul, Luke and John refer to scripture as the basis of their tradition. It seems more probable that the tradition arose on other grounds and was then attributed to scripture, even though no particular passage was in the mind of those who did it. This was the natural procedure on the assumption of the early church that every feature of the life and work and significance of Jesus had been foretold in scripture; and the fact that a specific passage could not be found to validate a particular belief or tradition did not lead them to question that it was foretold but only incited them to a more diligent search.

Here we must raise the problem of the actual origin of "on the third day." Although we probably shall never be able to remove all questions from this early tradition, there are certain possibilities for a satisfactory approach to the question. It is clear, in the first place, that the belief that Jesus rose from the dead was due to visions experienced by some of the disciples soon, i. e., a few days, after his death; and, in the second place, various considerations enter into their coming to the conclusion that he rose "on the third day." Among these were probably the widely prevalent view that spirits of the dead lingered about three

days near the body or the tomb before going away finally into Hades,¹⁸ and the resurrection narratives familiar to the thought of the time which often embodied the three days motif either in the actual myth or in the celebrations.¹⁹ In order to be a genuine resurrection according to the thought of the time the Christian narrative had to conform to these popular thought-forms. It could not be less, and would not be much more, than three days. Still another factor in the problem was the adoption by the early church of Sunday as its Sabbath. Sunday agrees with "on the third day," for it was the third day from the crucifixion on the Friday before; but it does not agree with the tradition shown in some sources (see above) of a resurrection on the same day as the crucifixion; or with the three days and three nights of the Jonah passage; or with the tradition that the resurrection came after the close of the feast of Unleavened Bread. Obviously these various traditions arose before the early church uniformly decided that Sunday was the day of the resurrection and adopted it as its own chief festival day and observed it weekly as a celebration of the resurrection of Jesus from the dead. The indication is that the adoption of Sunday by the church was independent of the three days motif. Investigation into the origin of Sunday will lead to a consideration, on the one hand, of conflicts of the early church with the synagogue over Sabbath observance; on the other, to the religious observance and celebration of Sunday already prevalent at the time in the ancient world.²⁰ It was noted then, after Sunday had been adopted on other grounds that it synchronized with one version of the three days motif, and that gave greater meaning and significance to its observance, for now the weekly celebration of this day was to rejoice over the Lord's resurrection. "On the third

day" was then able to displace all rival versions of the three days motif and became the uniform, official view of the church, so that the other versions of the motif have been preserved only accidentally. When the identification of Sunday with "on the third day" had been made each was an irrefutable evidence in support of the other. And when the tradition of "on the third day" and the observance of Sunday had been adopted, authoritative validation was found in the scriptures, although at first there was no specific passage which could be cited in proof of the positions; but in time scriptures were found which were interpreted to satisfy the needs of the case.²¹ And so they have been interpreted through the different centuries of the church.

CHAPTER VI

THE LORD'S DAY

The obscurity surrounding the origin of the weekly celebration of Sunday as the chief day of worship in the early church will probably never be fully removed, due to the meagreness of our information, but the history of early Christianity will not be complete so long as there is uncertainty on this question. We face the problem as soon as we note the lack of agreement in the various traditions of the early church as to the origin of the Lord's Day. All of the Gospels relate that the resurrection of Jesus took place on the first day of the week and at least from the time of Ignatius¹ Christian writers were fairly consistent in saying the day was kept for that reason, although Barnabas places the resurrection, appearances and ascension all on this day,² and Justin, in addition to the resurrection of Jesus, says the day is observed because God created the earth on that day³ and also at another time connects it with circumcision on the eighth day.⁴

The problem which we now face is indicated by the fact that, while the Gospels agree in placing the resurrection of Jesus on the first day of the week, they preserve traces of traditions which do not agree with that view. (1) There is evidence in Matthew (27:52-53) of a tradition that the resurrection occurred on the same day as the crucifixion, in the statement about the saints who were raised when Jesus died but apparently had to wait about the tombs until his resurrection that they might go with him into the

city, which seems to be a clear case of a conflict between a one-day and a three-day tradition; this one-day tradition is reflected in the Gospel of Peter in a reference to the ascension from the cross (3:19) and in the second century Quartodeciman controversy in which the churches of the East celebrated both the death and resurrection on the same day at Passover.⁵ (2) A tradition that the resurrection was after three days and three nights is shown by Matthew's reference to Jonah (12:40) and also in the effort of the Syriac *Didascalia* to show that this tradition was really correct in a figurative sense.⁶ (3) There was also a tradition that the resurrection occurred after the feast of Unleavened Bread, i. e., about ten days after the crucifixion, in a second statement of the Gospel of Peter to the effect that the disciples were returning homeward in sorrow after the feast, their sorrow clearly indicating that they still believed that Jesus was dead, and the fragment breaks off apparently just before describing a vision of the risen Jesus. (4) The Gospels themselves report moreover that Jesus predicted his resurrection in three days, on the third day, after three days and after three days and three nights. Now it is clear that only one of these traditions, i. e., on the third day, agrees with the narratives of all the Gospels which place the resurrection of Jesus on the first day of the week. This confusion in the early traditions raises two questions: first, how did the several traditions originate, and second, how did "on the third day" become supreme? And this latter question is inextricably entangled with the problem of the origin of the Lord's Day in the early church, for the Lord's Day was the third day from the crucifixion and its celebration has thus become an ineffaceable monument to the victory of "on the third day" over the other traditions.

I

The first evidence on the question of Lord's Day observance in the first century is Paul's statement: "On the first of every week each of you is to put aside and store up whatever he gains" (1 Cor. 16:2. Goodspeed). Another statement of equal importance is Acts 20:7: "On the first day of the week, when we had met for the breaking of bread, Paul addressed them, as he was going away the next morning, and he prolonged his address until midnight." And still another, from near the end of the century, is Rev. 1:19: "On the Lord's Day I fell into a trance, and I heard a loud voice like a trumpet behind me." We cannot be quite certain, with no more evidence than these brief statements, to what extent Sunday had been adopted in the church during the first century, though it appears that from around the middle of the century at least, as reflected in Paul's letter, Sunday assumed considerable importance; and this impression is greatly strengthened by the evidence of the Gospels on the question, which say expressly that Jesus rose from the dead on that day. And the Gospel of John states not only that Jesus rose on the day after the Sabbath but also that he appeared to the disciples again after another week, which would have been on the next Sunday, thus showing observance of two Sundays in succession. This is strong evidence that by the time the Fourth Gospel was written Sunday had been adopted by the church as its day of worship. But the Gospel of Mark, twenty-five years earlier, bears remarkably strong testimony to the same effect, for, as Bacon has shown,⁷ the chronological data of this Gospel show that its arrangement conforms to the western method of observing Passover, which was to begin the celebration on Nisan fourteenth and complete it only on the

Sunday following, as against the eastern custom of devoting only the one day Nisan fourteenth to both the crucifixion and resurrection (Eus. *H. E.*, V. 23). This shows that for the western churches even as early as the writing of Mark Sunday had assumed enough importance to control the Passover celebration, that soon after the middle of the first century Sunday had come to have an important place in the church. Statements in the *Didaché* (xiv) and the letter of Pliny (x.96) are evidence from the beginning of the second century, and from that time on the evidence of Sunday observance is abundant.

Along with this emergence of Sunday, however, the Sabbath continued to be almost universally observed, for, although Jesus and the early disciples advocated a more liberal interpretation of Sabbath regulations, there is no reason to doubt that they were faithful in observing the day, and even Paul, in spite of his controversy with the legalists, was not so very irregular in this respect. But the very fact that Paul had to make his fight against a legalistic observance of the Sabbath⁸ indicates the hold which the Sabbath retained at the time, and the same conclusion is to be drawn from Ignatius⁹ and Barnabas,¹⁰ early in the second century. For, as a matter of fact, as late as the third century, after the Lord's Day was firmly rooted in the church, the Apostolic Constitutions found it necessary to regulate Sabbath observance,¹¹ but the Lord's Day continued to increase in importance until at last in 321 A. D. Constantine made it a national holiday.

Relative to the time and place and persons involved in the rise of Sunday observance, all of the data from the first century, as indicated above, come from the Greek speaking churches of Asia Minor and the West, and the earliest specific mention of Sunday observance points to the region of Paul's missionary labors where he had made

his struggle against the Judaisers, in which the membership was predominantly gentile and had come out of gentile religions. So in our study of the genesis of the Christian day of worship these data from Paul's churches may be expected to throw light on our problem. Modern research has shown that most questions of Christian origins lead back to both Jewish and gentile sources, and that may be the case in regard to the Lord's Day; but, at the same time, it is not inconceivable that the roots of certain Christian practices and institutions were neither Jewish nor gentile, but were entirely new creations of the Christian movement itself, so we must first interrogate the church for its own account of the origin of the Lord's Day.

II

There is no statement from Christians in the first century as to why they observed Sunday for worship, but certainly from the time of Ignatius (Mag. ix), about 112 A. D., with slight exceptions, the day was observed because on that day "our life sprang up through him and his death," i. e., because Jesus had risen on that day. But this explanation is not entirely satisfying for two reasons: first, as indicated at the outset, the first day of the week agrees only with "on the third day" whereas there were other divergent traditions in the early church as to the length of time that Jesus lay in the grave, and these traditions must in some way be accounted for; and, in the second place, to say that Sunday is observed because Jesus rose on that day is really a *petitio principii*, for such a celebration might just as well be monthly or annually and still be an observance of that particular day. It is yet possible, nevertheless, that the day on which the first vision occurred had some influence in determining the day of the

week on which the resurrection was believed to have taken place. Mark's statement that the three women who found the empty grave fled in terror and told no one of what had happened, and his references to Galilee in this connection (16:7; 14:28), together with Paul's statement (1 Cor. 15:1-8), show that the belief that Jesus had risen from the dead was due, not to the discovery of an empty grave, but to visions of the risen Jesus, and that these visions occurred in Galilee. Such evidence makes it improbable that the first vision occurred on the first Sunday after the crucifixion, for a Sabbath had intervened and the disciples had scarcely had time to get back to Galilee; so the vision may have been as much as ten days later, after the feast of Unleavened Bread, as indicated by the closing fragment of the Gospel of Peter. But if the vision at this late date was on Sunday it would be scarcely possible to account for the observance of Sunday in such an accidental way. These phenomena, while of course not certainly disproving the Christian statement as to the origin of Sunday observance, present so many problems that we are driven to look into the Jewish and gentile sources for further light on the question.

III

From the Jewish side, the celebration of the death or resurrection of Jesus, or both, might conceivably have become connected either with the Passover, the Sabbath, or the day of the first-fruits offering, because, according to Mark, Jesus was crucified on Nisan fifteenth, having eaten the Passover with his disciples the preceding day, while John places the crucifixion on Passover day itself; in both accounts Jesus lay in the grave on the Sabbath; and it was the day following the Sabbath of Passover week that the first-fruits offering was made (Lev. 23:11). Was

either of these days connected with the origin of the Lord's Day?

The death of Jesus did come to be connected with the Passover in early Christian thought (1 Cor. 5:7); in the Gospel of John he is presented as the Lamb of God and was crucified at the very time the Passover lambs were slaughtered (1:29; 19:31-37); and in the second century the Quartodecimans celebrated both his death and resurrection on Passover day; but this connection with Passover has no light whatever to throw upon the origin of the Lord's Day, save that the Quartodeciman practice indicates a tradition that Jesus had both died and risen on the same day, and this is of no help to us in the solution of the problem of Sunday observance except that negatively it may suggest influences outside of the Christian traditions. The church took over Passover but it had no connection with the Lord's Day.

The day of the first-fruits offering, when the sheaf was "waved before Yahweh," is believed by Professor Bacon (*op. cit.* p. 390) to have suggested the Lord's Day observance to the early church, for the church worshiped their Lord who had been "raised up" on the very day when the first-fruits offering was waved before Yahweh, and Paul refers to Jesus as the "first-fruits of them that sleep" (1 Cor. 15:20). There were two ways of interpreting "the Morrow after the Sabbath" for the first-fruits offering; the orthodox way was to count the first day of the feast, i. e., Nisan fifteenth, a Sabbath, and to make the first-fruits offering the next day but the Boethusian Sadducees and the Samaritans made this phrase refer to the regular Sabbath, so that their offering would always fall on Sunday of Passover week.¹² Assuming that John is correct, however, in placing the crucifixion on Nisan fourteenth, against the Synoptics, in line with the Quar-

todeciman tradition, in that year both methods would agree and the offering would fall on Sunday according to either method. The difficulty with this conjecture is two-fold; in the first place, this first-fruits practice was an annual affair rather than a weekly event as the Lord's Day was and there would seem to be no sufficient reason for a weekly celebration to rise out of it; and, in the second place, it seems more natural to interpret Paul's reference to Jesus as the "first-fruits of them that sleep" in a purely symbolical sense. Paul was thinking of the symbol rather than of the time; for him Jesus was the first example of the unnumbered dead to rise and would have been the first-fruits regardless of the day of his resurrection.

The Sabbath, however, has much greater affinity with the Lord's Day for it was a weekly observance, so that we naturally expect influence from this Jewish practice in the rise of the Christian day of worship. But the resemblance between the two days hardly extended further than the mere fact that they both came once each week, for the methods of observance were radically different. Until near the close of the second century Christians, although worshiping on Sunday in their assemblies, did not refrain from ordinary duties. Tertullian advises Christians to defer their business on that day lest they give place to the devil,¹³ but Origen is rather embarrassed by the fact that the church observes days at all, and his ideal is that all days be observed alike.¹⁴ The Apostolic Constitutions require that slaves be given leisure both on the Sabbath and on the Lord's Day, though the rigor of the old Sabbath is not manifest even here.¹⁵ Another radical difference from the Sabbath was that the Christian day of worship was named for the Christian Lord, whereas the Sabbath was named from its character as a day of rest and not from Yahweh. While agreeing in

the point that both days were weekly, they were, however, entirely different in the much more fundamental facts of their names and actual characters. Did Sunday owe its rise to the prior existence of the Sabbath? Was Sunday in the church intended to take the place of the Sabbath? Was it to be the Christian Sabbath? There was opposition to taking over Jewish fast days,¹⁶ but there seems to have been no objection to the regular Jewish festivals, Passover, Pentecost, etc., which were taken into the church with Christian interpretations. If Christians desired a Christian Sabbath, why did they not use the Jewish Sabbath with a Christian interpretation? The opposition to the Sabbath reflected in the Gospels was to the method of keeping the day rather than to the day itself, and there seems to be no intention of discarding it. The Sabbath would have been instrumental in causing Jewish Christians to observe one day weekly, for they had learned hebdomadal practice in their Jewish life; they would be expected to carry over to the new religion the needs for weekly observance that had been acquired in their earlier religious training; but Jewish Christians did not bring over with them already established needs for a day with the character which the Lord's Day possessed.¹⁷

IV

Turning now to the gentile world in search of data that might throw further light on the problem, we find that the weekly division of time existed in the ancient Orient independently of the Jewish Sabbath. The weekly reckoning of time is traced back to the Babylonians and Assyrians, and the Sabbath itself may even have been derived from that source.¹⁸ And there is conclusive evidence that by the first century A. D. the Mediterranean world was familiar with a weekly reckoning of time. Joseph boasts,

certainly with exaggeration, that there is no nation whatever, "whither our custom of resting on the seventh day has not come,"¹⁹ but there would be no reason for his making the statement unless the week had already attained wide recognition. Many Roman writers of the time are familiar with the Sabbath.²⁰ Suetonius states that the grammarian Diogenes was accustomed to lecture at Rhodes on the Sabbath and that he refused to admit Tiberius to hear him at another time.²¹ Clement of Alexandria claimed that the seventh day was recognized as sacred, not by Hebrews only, but also by the Greeks.²² Dion Cassius writes that the custom of referring the days to the seven stars called planets was instituted by the Egyptians, "but is now found among all mankind, though its adoption has been comparatively recent; at least the ancient Greeks never understood it so far as I am aware."²³ And beginning with Saturday he gives the heavenly bodies as follows: Kronos, Helios, Moon, Ares, Hermes, Zeus and Aphrodite. Further evidence to the effect that the weekly division of time was already widely recognized by the beginning of the Christian era is a picture discovered at Herculaneum, and therefore painted by 79 A. D., with the heads of seven planetary deities in the order of their days: Saturn, Apollo, Diana, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus.²⁴ There can be no doubt that the weekly division of time was already widely recognized by the beginning of the Christian era. That being the case, it would not be necessary to assume that Christians derived their custom of meeting together for weekly celebrations from Sabbath observance in Judaism, for many of the early converts, in fact most of them, had never been Jews and were familiar with religious practices of the gentile world instead.

In the matter of the name Lord's Day we shall have to go beyond the limits of Judaism which had no custom

whatever to correspond to that of naming Sunday in honor of the Lord, i. e., the Lord's Day. As indicated in the statement of Dion Cassius above this practice came from the Egyptians; and the same testimony is borne by Herodotus in the fifth century b. c.: "These other things were invented by the Egyptians. Each month and day is assigned to some particular god; and according to the day on which each person is born, they determine what will befall him, how he will die, and what kind of person he will be."²⁵ Whether it is entirely correct to say that this custom was invented by the Egyptians is an incidental matter; it is of importance only to note that the practice was not Jewish and that it was already old in the ancient world when the Christian church arose. For a custom which might have influenced Christians to designate *κυριακή* in honor of their *κύριος* we shall therefore have to go outside the bounds of Judaism, for Christians have followed a pagan way of designating days which was already old when they began to speak of the Lord's Day.²⁶ The only significant point of agreement between the Lord's Day and Jewish practices of the time is the hebdomadal agreement with the Sabbath; on the other hand, however, there was no hebdomadal Sunday observance in Judaism, the character of the Sabbath was different from that of the Lord's Day, and the name *κυριακή* has its parallel in pagan rather than in Jewish life.²⁷

V

Cumulative evidence leads us to look, therefore, for a day in the non-Jewish religious life of the Hellenistic world which may have made some contribution to Lord's Day observance in the church. Deissmann has called attention to evidence that the Imperial cult in Asia Minor and Egypt consecrated one day of each month, apparently

the first, to the worship of the emperor, and called it *σεβαστή*, and he believes that this day with its name may have had something to do with the naming of *κυριακή*.²⁸ The case is without doubt an exact linguistic parallel; it is also a religious parallel, in that both *κυριακή* and *σεβαστή* are named for the divinities to whom they are devoted; but in the matter of weekly observance the similarity breaks down.

A more exact parallel at the point where *σεβαστή* breaks down is Saturday, named for Kronos (Saturn), and called *κρονική*. It is called *ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ κρόνου* just as Sunday is called *ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ ἡλίου*. Plutarch writes of *ἡ κρονική ἑορτή* and *αἱ κρονιάδες ἡμέραι*.²⁹ But most remarkable is the example of Justin where he refers to Saturday as *ἡ κρονική*, an exact parallel to *ἡ κυριακή*, and the example occurs in a passage where he twice refers to Sunday as *ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ ἡλίου*, which shows that his way of designating Saturday is not patterned from *κυριακή* but is recognized usage of his time.³⁰ In this case we have not only the designation of Saturday for a deity, but also the fact that this day, just as the Christian *κυριακή*, comes once a week. The parallel, however, is more superficial than it at first appears, for there is no evidence of a religious observance of *κρονική* which at all resembles that which characterized the Lord's Day, so as far as the real character of the two days was concerned there was no significant parallel between them.

At this point mention may be made of the large place of Sunday celebration among the Mandeans, communities of whom were found in recent times in the lower valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates still tracing their ancestry back to John the Baptist. Their practices have come to light with the publication of an authentic translation of their sacred literature by Mark Lidzbarski.³¹ In this lit-

erature Sunday is frequently mentioned and is observed as a most sacred day; it is even personified and prayed to and will serve as a witness for the soul, etc.³² If their claim to John the Baptist as their founder could be accepted without question and we knew that Sunday observance had characterized them from the beginning, we might feel with certainty that we had found the origin of Christian Sunday, but this is not the case. The great importance of John the Baptist, of Palestine, of Jerusalem, of baptism in the Jordan, of hatred of the Jews, as well as a bitter polemic against Jesus as a false Messiah, all lend themselves nicely to their theory of their origin; and the Gnostic speculation which fills this literature is closely akin to the Johannine writings of the New Testament; but the fact that nothing whatever is known of these people before the rise of Islam may well make us skeptical of their claim to such an early origin.³³ Moreover, even Lidzbarski, who would accept the view that they come from John the Baptist, admits that the passages in which Sunday has so much importance are of a very late date, so that they cannot be of any significance for the problem of the origin of the Christian Sunday. On the whole, those scholars who see in the Mandeans the influence of a late Christian Gnostic sect, although they may in some way go back to John, are probably correct in their interpretation.

VI

Another non-Jewish source, however, which may throw real light on the origin of Christian Lord's Day is Oriental Sun worship, which had existed in various forms from time immemorial and was best known in the Occident as it was found in Mithraism. The name Sunday, *dies solis*, η ἡμέρα τοῦ ἡλίου, indicates the connection which this day had with the worship of the Sun. It is well known that

long before his identification with Sol in the Occident, Mithra had been the god of light in his Oriental home, but after he came into the Roman world he was often referred to under such titles as *Helios*, *Sol*, *Sol invictus*, *Sol invictus Mithra*, *Dominus Mithra*, *Sol invictus Dominus Mithra*, etc.³⁴ For the purpose of our present inquiry two questions relative to Mithraism are of supreme importance: was Sunday celebration characteristic of this cult; and did Mithraism enter the Mediterranean world early enough to have influenced the church in its adoption of Sunday as its Lord's Day? We cannot answer either of these questions with finality, due to our lack of information about the earlier forms and provenance of Mithraism, but, nevertheless, sufficient data are available, we feel, to justify tentatively at least an affirmative answer to both questions. The authoritative worker in this field is Cumont and his testimony is of greatest value on the two questions here propounded. According to this authority the number seven had a special value in the rites of the Mithraic cult, there were seven degrees of initiation, and the system of naming the seven days of the week for the seven planets which had originated earlier in Babylonia came into the Roman world at the very time that Mithraism made its entrance there and was probably brought by Mithraism. "There is no doubt that the diffusion of the Iranian mysteries had a considerable part in the adoption by the pagans of the week with Sunday as a feast day."³⁵ From a passage of Celsus preserved by Origen,³⁶ which by means of a ladder of seven portals presents an allegory of the passage of souls through the spheres of the seven planets, in which the last portal is that of the Sun made of gold, Cumont sees evidence that the week with Sunday at its head was important in Mithraism; the same conclusion is drawn from the seven arched portals designed at

the foot of the figures of the planets in the pavement of a Mithreum at Ostia; and there is also a relief which has a series of busts commencing with that of the Sun, not, as is ordinarily the case with that of Saturn.³⁷ "The *dies solis* was evidently the most sacred day of the week for the devotees of Mithra, and just as the Christians, they were obliged to keep Sunday holy and not the Sabbath."³⁸ Again Cumont observes: "Each day of the week the planet to which it had been consecrated was invoked at a certain place in the crypt, and Sunday, over which the Sun presided, was especially sacred."³⁹ "The rites which they practiced offered numerous analogies; the devotees of the Persian god, just as the Christians, were purified by a baptism; they received the power to combat evil demons by a confirmation; and they attained health of soul and body by a communion. And as these also they sanctified Sunday and celebrated the birth of the Sun on Dec. 25."⁴⁰ In justice to Cumont himself, however, it should be stated that he did not derive the Christian Lord's Day from the Mithraic Sunday.⁴¹ In the matter of parallels between Christianity and Mithraism there always remains the question of the date of the rites involved, but in regard to Sunday it is not necessary to show that Mithraism with its most elaborate forms existed prior to the rise of the church, and the original character of Mithra as Sun God⁴² makes it probable that the special observance of Sunday was one of its oldest practices. That is indicated by Cumont's conclusion that the week was brought into the Mediterranean world by this cult.

As to the date at which Mithraism entered the Mediterranean world the evidence is fragmentary but at least one monument comes from the first century B. C. Antiochus I. of Commagene (69-38 B. C.) erected a monument at

Nimrud Dagh on which Mithra was identified with Apollo, Helios and Hermes, relative to which R. Pettazoni remarks: "The inscription of Antiochus I. is then the first Anatolian document of that Hellenization of Mithraism, which was the primary condition necessary for its ulterior expansion in the Occident."⁴³ The cult of Mithra made its way into Rome in the first century B. C., whither it was carried by Cilician pirates captured by Pompey in 67 B. C.⁴⁴ That was almost a hundred years before Christian missionaries founded the church in Rome. Just how soon it actually gained a footing there we do not know but we have a Mithraic inscription from Rome set up by a freedman of the Flavian dynasty, i. e., 70-96 A. D.⁴⁵ Nero himself seems to have been initiated into the cult.⁴⁶ The Roman poet Statius, who lived from 61 to 96 A. D., shows familiarity with the cult in his allusion to "Mithra as beneath the rocks of the Persian cave he presses back the horns that resist his control."⁴⁷ The next oldest Mithraic monument from Rome which we possess was set up by a slave about 102 A. D.⁴⁸ The mysteries of Mithra were popular with soldiers and they were established at Carnuntum on the Danube by the fifteenth legion about the beginning of the reign of Vespasian.⁴⁹ Regardless of the condition of Mithraism in other parts of the empire, it is clear, therefore, that it had found its way into Rome with sufficient success to leave monumental remains before the end of the first century A. D.; and according to Plutarch it had been carried there in 67 B. C. But in Asia Minor and northern Syria the cult had been popular for at least two centuries B. C. Evidence of that is the fact that the famous group of Mithra the bull-slayer, which adorned every Mithraic shrine, was created by the Pergamene school of art.⁵⁰ This work of art proves beyond a doubt

that the cult of Mithra had already attained its position in Asia Minor when the Pergamene school was flourishing.

Further light on the early diffusion of Mithraism has been recently attained from a Greek papyrus discovered in the Fayûm in Egypt which dates from the third century B. C.⁵¹ This papyrus contains a list of sheep and lambs for sacrifices in the *μιθραῖον* located there and of the persons who brought the sacrifices. This Mithreum in the Fayûm in the third century B. C. was probably due to Persian soldiers who were sent there during the Persian period; and it is probable that Mithraism was brought by Persian garrisons to Asia Minor at the same time, where it became popular enough to appear in Pergamene art in the second century B. C.⁵² It is of especial significance for the present study that Mithraism had such a firm hold in Asia Minor, long before the rise of Christianity in that same region under the missionary work of Paul, where its emphasis on Sun worship had accustomed its devotees to a reverence for that day of the week which was dedicated to the Sun. It was in this very region that Paul had fought against those who would bind the Sabbath on his churches;⁵³ and it was in these churches that we found the earliest accounts of observance of the Lord's Day. May it not well be that Paul was led to take his stand relative to the Sabbath, not only by his own reaction against legalism, but also because of influences in his environment, which had caused Sunday already to have a place of honor among the days of the week? May not Mithraism with its veneration of Sunday have prepared the way for the Lord's Day? The various considerations of this study suggest such an hypothesis.

It is not impossible that the rather enigmatical phrase in the Didaché *κατὰ κυριακὴν δὲ κυρίου* would be cleared up by such an hypothesis.⁵⁴ The phrase might then reflect the

fact that a *κυριακή* other than that of the Lord existed, for why else was it necessary to write Lord's Day *of the Lord*?

Sunday in Mithraism agreed with the Lord's Day in that it was consecrated to a divinity and, so far as we can recover, in its general character, i. e., the deity to whom it was consecrated was worshiped on that day but work and ordinary occupations were not prohibited. And it agreed moreover in being the same day of the week. Its affinities with the Lord's Day thus appear to have been much closer than was the case of the Jewish Sabbath. To construct such an hypothesis does not mean that early Christians deliberately borrowed Sunday from Mithraism but assumes only the general psychological principle which underlies all syncretism. In conversion from one religion to another, converts, although intending to break completely with their old life and habits, in reality, yielding to the innate conservatism of human nature, actually make only those readjustments which are necessary to fit into their new situation. For that reason no transplanted religion is ever what it was in its original home; that applies both to the interpretations and to the rites. We do not know how many converts Paul made from Mithraism but we do know that he made many converts in regions where the environment had long been subject to the influence of Mithraic practices, and with that knowledge our hypothesis may be of value. Moreover the existence of Sun worship from time immemorial around the Mediterranean, in conjunction with the early acceptance of the planetary week in the Hellenistic world, provided a still much wider basis than Mithraism for pagan reverence for the day of the Sun.

On the basis of this hypothesis, the divergences in the early traditions relative to the day on which Jesus rose

from the dead would also be accounted for. The traditions regarding the day of the resurrection would be accounted for as reflections of scriptures which were thought to refer to the resurrection, the day on which the first vision occurred, or by beliefs as to the length of time the spirit lingered about the body before its departure. The Lord's Day arose independently of those traditions on the basis indicated in this study—a conjunction of hebdomadal practice in Judaism with that in Sun worship—but was then consecrated to the Lord who was worshiped on that day. The next step was to adopt that version of the three days motif—on the third day—which synchronized with their Lord's Day observance; and finally to validate the practice with scripture.⁵⁵

Examples quite similar to the case indicated in this study are the Hebrew and Mohammedan Sabbaths. We do not certainly know the origin of the Hebrew Sabbath, although it probably dates back to their Semitic ancestors, but it is accounted for in their own literature, as the day on which God rested from creation,⁵⁶ as a memorial of the deliverance from Egypt,⁵⁷ and as a sign of Yahweh's covenant.⁵⁸ The Sabbath in Islam is Friday, which is said to have been a day of assembly of some kind long before the time of Mohammed; but his followers observe it because "On this day Adam was created; on this day Adam was taken into Paradise, and turned out from it also on this day; and the day of the resurrection will not be on any day but Friday."⁵⁹

I first published this theory of the origin of the Lord's Day in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Volume XLIX, i, pp. 65-82, 1930. Professor Gordon J. Laing has now set forth the same hypothesis, *Survivals of Roman Religion*, 1931, p. 148f.

CHAPTER VII

THE NEW FAITH

There can be no doubt that the narratives of the resurrection of Jesus from the dead came into existence in response to needs which were very real in the early church. The central feature of all the various forms of the narrative is the belief that Jesus had risen from the dead; the many elaborations of the narrative all assume this fact. It is evident therefore that the belief in the resurrection of Jesus from the dead had great significance for his disciples. It is the purpose here to trace the significance of the belief from the beginning down into the second century, for the purpose of throwing light upon the developing narratives themselves. The developing Christology has been outlined.¹ That was a study of the influence of the resurrection faith upon the thought of the church about the person of Jesus and of the presentation of this developing thought about Jesus in the cult story. The purpose of the present investigation is to trace the development of the significance of the resurrection of Jesus. The former study centered around the person of Jesus, and attempted to outline his rise to the height of the Christological development; the present study is parallel to that, but centers around the significance which the risen Christ had for the individual Christian. There Jesus the Christ was central; here the significance of Christ in the life of the Christian is the question of interest. The growth of these narratives can be understood only in the

light of their meaning for the church, in the light of the function of the events which they record in the experience of the disciples who produced them.

I

The earliest record which has come down to us from the beginning Christian movement, apparently, is that body of material represented in the common non-Markan sources of Matthew and Luke, which we have learned to call the *Logia* or *Q*.² There is a question whether this source is older than Mark, but that its material is older than most of the material of Mark seems evident, because of the absence of the great significance of the person of Jesus which Mark reflects. But the question of the relative dates of Mark and *Q* is of no serious consequence for the present purpose. The important consideration here is the evidence which *Q* affords of the significance of the resurrection of Jesus for the body of disciples who produced that material and passed it on into our Christian literature. It is a very surprising fact that there is not a single reference to the resurrection of Jesus in all this material. There is only one reference to the raising of the dead. That is the answer made by Jesus to the messengers from John the Baptist, reported in exactly the same words by Matthew and Luke, save that Matthew adds three conjunctions: "Go and tell John the things which ye have seen and heard: the blind receive their sight, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, the poor have good tidings preached to them."³

Beyond this statement there is no reference to resurrection in *Q*, and this passage has no connection with the resurrection of Jesus either directly or indirectly. When Luke revised the material and incorporated it in his Gospel

he presented the raising of the widow's son at Nain,⁴ but that was evidently not in the *Q* which Matthew had, for he knows nothing of the incident. Matthew inserted the authority to raise the dead in the commission given to the disciples by Jesus which comes from *Q*,⁵ but Luke knew nothing of it; and Matthew inserted the reference to the three days and nights of the Jonah story into the *Q* material,⁶ but Luke did not have it in his *Q*. The only conclusion to be drawn from these facts, apparently, is that *Q* either had no story of the death and resurrection of Jesus at all, or that the story had attained no soteriological significance in *Q* and had not begun to be reflected in the teaching of Jesus that is presented in *Q*. *Q* has no statements in the form of prophecies or premonitions that indicate that a resurrection is to follow. There is no conception of the person of Jesus in *Q* that seems to be a projection backward of the resurrection faith. It would probably be too much, however, in the light of the central rôle which the story of the passion of Jesus had as the cult story of the early church, in all of the cult ceremonies and church activities, to conclude that *Q* grew up without a passion story; it is more likely that the soteriological significance of the story had not become strong enough at the time of the formulation of the *Q* document to be reflected in the teaching of Jesus that is contained in it.⁷ In *Q* there is set forth a righteousness of fellowship with God, which comes from repentance, purity of heart, and ethical living; and salvation is a matter of individual attainment. There is no place for the mediation of Jesus between man and God; there is no need for his sacrificial death or for sacramental rites and a mystical rebirth. Instead of that, religion is a matter of purity of life and of holy living in harmony with the will of God.

II

But in the Gospel of Mark the situation is entirely different from that in *Q*. Here the narrative of the resurrection and of related events assumes the greater part of the Gospel. That proves that the resurrection of Jesus had great significance for the writer of this Gospel and for the age for which he wrote. It had become the most important single feature in the entire body of material dealing with Jesus. Jesus specifically foretells his death and resurrection four times in Mark, and after the first prediction all events are shaped toward the great finale of the passion in Jerusalem.⁸ In this Gospel Jesus is presented as the ideal martyr.⁹ After the first prediction of the resurrection he makes it plain that he is going to his death. That is his deliberate intention. It is necessary for him to go to death in order to attain the object of his life. So he is betrayed by one of the twelve and is forsaken by all of them. In a dramatic scene the chief of the disciples denies his Lord. The three most intimate disciples go to sleep while he suffers the agonies of Gethsemane alone. He is arrested like a robber after being identified by the traitor's kiss. Led away to the house of the high priest, he is condemned without justice and then subjected to humiliating abuse; and before the court of Pilate he receives no more consideration and is condemned upon the demand of the mob. He is crucified between two robbers and then reviled by the multitude during the agonies of death. And the final touch is given to the tragic picture when God himself deserts Jesus and leaves him to die alone. But after the gloom of the cross came the glory of the resurrection morning. It is the tragedy of the passion which makes the resurrection stand out in such bold relief.

The martyr's death had led Jesus into the triumphant resurrection life.

That is the function of the resurrection story in Mark. Jesus himself makes that clear. When Peter would prevent his going to the cross and the grave, Jesus rebukes him as no other than Satan undertaking to hinder the progress of his plans. So he explains to his disciples that if any one would be his disciple he must take up his cross and come after him. The disciple must become a martyr in order really to follow Jesus.

If any man would come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me. For whosoever would save his life shall lose it; and whosoever shall lose his life for my sake and the gospel's shall save it. For what doth it profit a man, to gain the whole world, and forfeit his life? For what should a man give in exchange for his life? For whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words in this adulterous and sinful generation, the Son of man also shall be ashamed of him, when he cometh in the glory of his Father with the holy angels. And he said unto them, Verily I say unto you, There are some here of them that stand by, who shall in no wise taste of death, till they see the kingdom of God come with power.¹⁰

This is the lesson of the resurrection of Jesus from the dead in Mark. It reflects a time when the disciples were having to face death for their faith. Such a time was the reign of Nero and to the end of the century—the very time when the Gospel of Mark took form. Some disciples had faced death earlier than Nero, as related in Acts. The function of the great martyr story then was to comfort the disciples in these circumstances. And it is not difficult to see why the passion looms so large in the Gospel of Mark under these conditions, or why there came to be an almost fanatical desire for martyrdom in the early church in order to become a real disciple Jesus himself had become the ideal martyr.¹¹

III

In the Gospel of Matthew the passion story does not have such a prominent place. A great deal of teaching material has been incorporated which was unknown in Mark. The martyr motif is preserved, although it recedes considerably into the background.¹² In this Gospel the resurrection gives great significance to the person of Jesus. The three days and three nights of the Jonah story which are inserted into the Markan material, are evidence that the people should hear the preaching of Jesus just as the Ninevites had heard Jonah and as the Queen of the South had listened to the wisdom of Solomon.¹³ The resurrection then is the apologetic for the authority of the teaching of Jesus in the circles where the Gospel of Matthew originated. It gave to Jesus all authority in heaven and on earth, so that he had the right to send out his missionaries to the ends of the earth to make disciples for him.¹⁴ The passion leads to the belief that "truly this was the Son of God."¹⁵ And the resurrection had so exalted Jesus that it was proper for him to be worshiped by the disciples.¹⁶

IV

The martyr motif is retained also in the Gospel of Luke, but, just as in Matthew, it is not so prominent as in Mark.¹⁷ Other interests have arisen. The great interest here is to show that the very sufferings and resurrection were necessary to demonstrate that Jesus was the Christ. The great source of authority is the scriptures, which testified that all these things must come to pass.¹⁸ The resurrection becomes just one of the signs by which Jesus is identified as the Messiah in the light of prophecy. It is of no greater importance relatively than the sufferings and abuse at the hands of the leaders of the Jews. All of these

experiences had to be undergone before the Christ could enter into his glory, and at the end of them he was taken up to heaven while the disciples were looking on.¹⁹ And now that Jesus had completely fulfilled the scriptures, there could be no doubt that he was the Christ and that he had authority to found the Christian movement by sending out his disciples from Jerusalem in ever widening circles until they had preached repentance and remission of sins in his name in the whole world.²⁰ This recession of the resurrection from its place of primary importance, as proof of the Messianic office of Jesus, and the exaltation of the place of the scriptures in the apologetic of the church, point to the time in the life of the Christian movement when the voices of the living witnesses of the life of Jesus and of the resurrection experiences had been stilled by death and when the only resource of the missionaries was the fruitful field of the Old Testament scriptures. To this the church was inevitably driven by the demands of apologetic. It is evident, therefore, that the Gospel of Luke was written not for the unconverted pagan who knew nothing of the scriptures, but for those who had come to recognize the Old Testament as a sacred book and to find the authentication of their faith in its pages. These may have been outside the church and also of Judaism, but, in the nature of the case, they were mainly in the church. The address of the book of Acts indicates that the writings of Luke were directed to the church.²¹ And in this respect, the interpretation of Luke met a great need in his day, after the living witnesses were gone.

The book of Acts, which is a companion volume for the Gospel of Luke, has mainly an elaboration of the significance of the resurrection of Jesus which is set forth in the Gospel. There is great effort to show that the passion and resurrection of Jesus fulfilled the scriptures and that Jesus

could not have been the Christ without these experiences.²² So the interpretation from the scripture is not only a way of proving that Jesus was the Christ, but a way of refuting the attacks of unbelievers who said that a Messiah would not have submitted to so much humiliation at the hands of his enemies. It is in this apologetic that Jesus becomes the suffering-servant of Isaiah. The experience of death and resurrection had caused Jesus to be seated at the right hand of God in glory.²³ This had been the reason why God had made Jesus both Lord and Christ.²⁴ In this office he had authority to authorize the preaching of repentance.²⁵ He had sent the Holy Spirit.²⁶ He had power to forgive sins.²⁷ He was now a savior.²⁸ At some future date he would sit as the judge of all mankind.²⁹ It would be only a short time before he would return and bring about the restoration of all things.³⁰ And the experience of Jesus is used as a proof that there really will be a resurrection of all men sometime in the future. It was such a use of the resurrection of Jesus that brought Peter and John into conflict with the Sadducees in Jerusalem in the early days,³¹ and Paul, at a later time.³² It was the same preaching that drew down upon Paul the scorn of the Athenian philosophers³³ and of the Roman governor Felix; and on the basis of the same evidence he attempted to make a Christian of the Jewish King Agrippa.³⁴ But in this use of the resurrection of Jesus to prove a future resurrection of all, Jesus is simply an example which God has given to show what he is going to do for all. There was nothing sacramental in the victory which God had wrought in the case of Jesus. These primitive Christian preachers had believed in a final resurrection just as ardently before they had learned of Jesus; they now simply had an indisputable proof of their claim, for actually living witnesses had seen Jesus alive and had testified to

that fact openly. Along with these new emphases of the Gospel of Luke and of Acts, there is preserved also the martyr motif which was brought over from Mark.

v

In the writings of Paul the resurrection of Jesus assumes much greater proportions from the point of view of its soteriological significance than in any of the other New Testament documents. For Paul the resurrection of Jesus has an eternal cosmic quality in the plan of God for the redemption of the human race; it has become sacramental in the highest degree. But there still survive the other functions which the resurrection of Jesus had for the writers of the Synoptic Gospels. It is indisputable proof that Jesus was the Son of God.³⁵ The resurrection gave Jesus pre-eminence over all other beings of all kinds.³⁶ Because of it Jesus sat down at the right hand of God, where he intercedes for his disciples with the Father,³⁷ and gives the disciples the Spirit as a comfort in this life. In Paul's great conflict with the Corinthian church about the resurrection of the dead, his main reliance was upon Jesus as an example to prove that God had raised the dead in the case of Jesus and would, therefore, raise all others from the grave at a future time.³⁸ The Corinthians admitted the resurrection of Jesus as an historical fact and were not able to resist the logic of Paul. The argument was simply from example and not from sacramental or cosmic significance. But there was great sacramental significance in the resurrection of Jesus for those who have faith, for by faith the disciple enters into union with Jesus in his cosmic victory and thereby attains for himself salvation from sin and redemption from the bondage of death, the union with Jesus actually taking place in the observance of baptism and the Lord's Supper.³⁹ By his

triumph Jesus gained the victory over death, so that death could no longer stand as the one great terror of mankind.⁴⁰ God's power had been manifested to men when he raised Jesus from the dead.⁴¹ The resurrection of Jesus is the great fact of Paul's gospel.⁴² One must believe that God raised Jesus from the dead in order to be saved.⁴³ But one of the most interesting features of Paul's teaching about the resurrection of Jesus is that which he reflects while he is in prison at Rome with martyrdom just before him. In this situation Paul goes back to the teaching of the Gospel of Mark and looks upon Jesus as the first great martyr and seems to conceive Christianity as a martyr cult, in which the disciple has a special privilege in being allowed to suffer as his Lord, and, after suffering, to have the same glory which Jesus had attained.⁴⁴ The sacramentalism is in martyrdom rather than in the death of Jesus or in his resurrection from the dead.

VI

In the letter to the Hebrews it is made very prominent that Jesus tasted death for every man,⁴⁵ that by his death he brought death and the devil to nought,⁴⁶ and that with his blood he made a sacrifice for the sins of men that was eternal and would never have to be offered again, as was the case with sacrifices in Judaism which had to be repeated over and over.⁴⁷ In this teaching great prominence is given to the death on the cross and to the shedding of the blood of Jesus, but the resurrection is inextricably bound up with that event. So the passion of Jesus has a cosmic sacramental significance just as in Paul, though the thinking of this writer proceeds along a different line. With him the function of the passion of Jesus is the same as that of the animal sacrifices of Judaism, only that the sacrifice of Jesus was perfect and will never have to be

offered again, and that, for that reason, the act of Jesus had much wider significance than the offerings of Judaism could ever have. With this writer the emphasis is upon faith that perseveres and shows itself in obedience, rather than upon the mystical union with Christ, which runs through the teaching of Paul. Hebrews has the same ends attained for the believer with reference to sin and death that Paul sets forth, but its technique is more like that of Judaism, while Paul's is like the cults of redemption of the Hellenistic world. Hebrews is more of a combination of Pauline redemption with the older methods and symbolism of Judaism. But in addition to this sacramental and cosmic meaning of the passion in Hebrews, there is also a strong emphasis upon Jesus as a perfect example of martyrdom and of the blessings that are sure to come to him who goes to the martyr's grave.⁴⁸

In the book of Revelation there is about the same soteriology as that of Hebrews. There is much emphasis upon the fact that sins are forgiven by virtue of the blood of Christ;⁴⁹ when Jesus was slain he purchased men out of every nation;⁵⁰ the numberless multitude who have come up out of great tribulation are they who have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the lamb;⁵¹ and it is they who have washed their robes that have a right to the tree of life and to enter in through the gates into the city.⁵² So through this sacrificial efficacy of the passion Jesus has overcome Death and Hades, and now holds the keys to those prisons.⁵³ He is the first-born from the dead;⁵⁴ he is alive for evermore;⁵⁵ he gives to them who overcome the right to eat of the tree of life;⁵⁶ to wear the crown of life;⁵⁷ and to have their names written in the book of life.⁵⁸ There will be no more death and the power of the second death has been broken,⁵⁹ so that it is now a blessed experience for one to die who has come

into the benefits of the saving blood of Jesus.⁶⁰ All of this is very similar to the teaching of Hebrews, and has its affinity in the imagery used with the sacrifices of Judaism rather than with the Pauline and gentile mysticism. And, just as has been seen before in Mark and Paul and Hebrews, there is great emphasis in Revelation upon the experience of martyrdom.⁶¹ The proud city of Rome has become drunken with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus, but her day of reckoning is to come and that very soon.⁶²

In the epistle of First Peter there appears the sacrificial efficacy of the blood of Jesus⁶³; through the resurrection of Jesus believers now have a new and living hope of an incorruptible inheritance⁶⁴; and union with Christ will bring eternal glory.⁶⁵ The same prominent place is given to the experience of martyrdom.⁶⁶ But an entirely new development in the cosmic victory of Jesus is introduced when his victory over Death and Hades is explained by his *descensus* into the abode of the dead, where he preached the gospel.⁶⁷ So First Peter is in the line of development of Paulinism but carries his elaboration farther than had been done before him.

Second Peter and James seem to make salvation a matter of ethical living.⁶⁸ Second and third John and Jude place emphasis upon orthodoxy.⁶⁹

The Pastoral epistles have a further development of the sacramental function of the resurrection of Jesus which was found in Paul. Jesus came into the world to save sinners.⁷⁰ There is a poem in First Timothy presenting the gospel story in brief.⁷¹ Death was abolished and immortality was brought to light through the gospel.⁷² Timothy should remember Christ risen from the dead.⁷³ Eternal glory was through Jesus Christ.⁷⁴ Redemption was through Christ.⁷⁵ Salvation was through faith, although faith has now become a system of belief.⁷⁶ And

salvation is sacramentally effected through water and the Spirit.⁷⁷

VII

The Gospel of John is the great epic of the risen life. In this Gospel all the teaching of the New Testament about the victory over Death that has come through Jesus Christ comes to its climax. The thought is mainly an elaboration of Paul in a speculative vein; and the framework of the Gospel is a widely used redemption mythus, which appears in the Jewish wisdom literature, in the Psalms of Solomon, in the Gnostic Acts, and in the recently translated Mandeian literature.⁷⁸ The mythus presents a pre-existent divine being who came to earth from the Father of light, bringing a message to the world of darkness of how men might escape from this prison house and return to their original home. This same mythus with its peculiar type of speculation is the basis of all the Johannine literature. In this Gospel the martyr motif has just about faded out.⁷⁹ Jesus himself is no martyr, because he goes deliberately to his death; in fact it was for that purpose that he came into the world.⁸⁰ The resurrection of Jesus itself also fades into insignificance in so far as the personality of Jesus is concerned, and in so far as any sacramental or cosmic significance attaches to it. It has simply become one of the great signs which Jesus did in order to call attention to the personality and power which he had from the beginning. The signs were to produce faith in Jesus.⁸¹ He was the Son of God who had existed from the beginning and had come into the world to bring life to men, not to do something after coming to attain it for them.⁸² His resurrection did not gain anything for man; it did nothing except to produce faith. Rather, the entire Gospel is a rewriting of the life of Jesus in the

frame of this old redemption mythus, under the influence of the Christology which had come into existence out of the resurrection faith attained long before. Because of this magnified conception of the person of Jesus, there was no place for a higher exaltation of him by his resurrection from the dead. The resurrection is only a corollary of his living personality and is subordinate to it. The personality was not enhanced by the resurrection. The real climax of the Gospel is the resurrection of Lazarus, rather than that of Jesus, which really forms a sort of anti-climax.

But, in spite of this, the idea of resurrection is more prominent in the Gospel of John than in any of the earlier writings. The difference is that it is there from the beginning. The feeding of the five thousand is merely the occasion for a sermon about the real bread of life.⁸³ The well in Samaria represents the water of life which Jesus offered to a thirsty world.⁸⁴ The raising of Lazarus is a great allegory of the truth that Jesus is the Resurrection and the Life.⁸⁵ The cross presents Jesus as the Passover lamb.⁸⁶ The lesson which the resurrection of Jesus had presented in former Gospels is thus taught over and over in the Gospel of John, before the narrative of the resurrection of Jesus appears, and there is hardly anything left for it to teach; but still it is entirely indispensable as a further confirmation of the great truth that Jesus was from the beginning the Resurrection and the Life. As the one great feature of the Gospels it has lost its primary function and place, but as one single feature of a Gospel which is set for the declaration of this one central truth, it has a place all its own. The crucifixion, burial, resurrection and appearances are all staged in greater beauty and splendor, so that they may be fitting symbols of the glory

of the Christ, which he had with the Father before the world came into existence.⁸⁷

The Gospel of John then is the great drama of the doctrine of Christian resurrection and immortality. The various features are wrought into a complete unity, and every detail of the production serves to proclaim the theme of eternal life which filled the mind of the author with such a majestic passion. The means by which this immortality may be taken into the individual life is a mystical union with Christ and with the Father.⁸⁸ This union is effected through belief.⁸⁹ Belief has become a matter of intellectual assurance which comes from the consideration of evidence that is established upon a supernatural basis.⁹⁰ Therefore there is no room for unbelief. The actual participation in the life which Jesus came to give takes place when the believer is reborn in a baptism of water and Spirit⁹¹; and it is sustained by eating of the Lord's Supper, which is no other than the flesh and blood of the Son of God.⁹² It is clear, therefore, that the resurrection narrative had had such influence by the time of the production of this Gospel that the lesson which it taught had become the very heart of the message of the church. This fact is the greatest testimony that has yet been borne to the function which the New Testament narratives of the resurrection of Jesus had for men who lived in the first century.

VIII

In the writings of the Apostolic Fathers, also, we find a great use of the doctrine of the resurrection of Jesus, thereby testifying to the continuing importance of the resurrection narratives of the New Testament. First Clement gives evidence that the martyr motif is still in use. "To these men with their holy lives was gathered a

great multitude of the chosen, who were the victims of jealousy and offered among us the fairest example in their endurance under many indignities and tortures . . . they steadfastly finished the course of faith, and received a noble reward, weak in the body though they were.”⁹³ And, “The righteous were persecuted; but it was by the wicked. They were put in prison; but it was by the unholy. They were stoned by law-breakers, they were killed by men who had conceived foul and unrighteous envy. These things they suffered and gained glory by their endurance.”⁹⁴ Such teaching as this would always find a place for the passion of Jesus, of which the resurrection was the great culmination and crown. The actual resurrection itself is cited as proof of a future general resurrection, because Jesus is the first-fruits of that event.⁹⁵ There is no sacramental or cosmic significance in the resurrection of Jesus; rather, it is only an example which God has given the world of what he will do at last for all men. That there will be a resurrection is proved also by the cycles of nature, the seasons, the night and day, the growing of the vegetation, etc. And the myth of the Phoenix of Arabia is a proof of the resurrection.⁹⁶ Apparently First Clement considers this story an historical narrative in class with the resurrection of Jesus itself. In addition to this proof from Jesus as the first-fruits and from the phenomena of nature and the Phoenix bird, Clement bases his argument for the resurrection upon the scriptures.⁹⁷ All of this bears convincing testimony to the function which the story of Jesus’ resurrection had for his day.

The *Didaché* has very little information as to its evaluation of the resurrection of Jesus, but still the evidence is strong enough to show that this doctrine had a prominent part in the system of that practical writer, who because

of the very practical nature of his task was not much concerned with strictly doctrinal considerations. But in his careful instructions about baptism it is necessary that the formula "in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit" shall be spoken, testifying thus to the elaboration of the theology of the early church in the light of the resurrection faith⁹⁸; the day of worship which the church keeps, the first day of the week, is kept because it is the *κυριακή* of the Lord, that is, the day on which he rose from the dead⁹⁹; and the influence of the resurrection of Jesus has caused the doctrine to develop that when the Lord returns there will be "the sign of the sound of the trumpet, and thirdly the resurrection of the dead; but not of all the dead, but as it was said, 'The Lord shall come and all his saints with him.' Then shall the world 'see the Lord coming on the clouds of heaven!'"¹⁰⁰

In Ignatius of Antioch there appears the emphasis upon martyrdom more strongly than ever. It is in martyrdom only that one may be found a true disciple of the Lord Jesus.¹⁰¹ He desires nothing more than the privilege of being poured out as an offering to God, "While an altar is still ready, that forming yourselves into a chorus of love, you may sing to the Father in Christ Jesus, that God has vouchsafed that the bishop of Syria shall be found at the setting of the Sun, having fetched him from the Sun's rising. It is good to set to the world towards God, that I may rise to him."¹⁰² He is urgent that his friends shall not prevent him from following the passion of his Lord.¹⁰³ This shows what a tremendous power the passion stories had exercised up to the time when Ignatius lived. But in addition to this appeal of the passion stories, in which the disciple died as did his Lord and received the same glory, there was a sacramental and cosmic significance which was very prominent, similar to that of Paul. He urges the

churches to keep the Lord's Day on which "our life sprang up through him and his death."¹⁰⁴ There is to be a resurrection of those who share the benefits of the death and resurrection of Jesus through faith in him, but otherwise true life is not to be had.¹⁰⁵ Even the prophets had been disciples of Jesus in the spirit, and when he came he raised them from the dead.¹⁰⁶ One may see a very close relation between the two great emphases of Ignatius, the desire for martyrdom and the cosmic significance of the resurrection of Jesus. In order to share the benefits of the resurrection of Jesus one had to be his disciple, and the only certain way of becoming his disciple was by taking up one's cross and bearing it as Jesus had borne his, that is, to death. And thus would be granted to the Christian the reward of the resurrection life. It could hardly be possible to overemphasize the functional value which the doctrine of the resurrection of Jesus had for Ignatius, and therefore for the churches over which he presided.¹⁰⁷

In the Epistle of Barnabas the resurrection has a place of fundamental importance. This writer states that Jesus endured the passion in order that he might destroy death and show forth the resurrection from the dead, that he might fulfill the promise made to the fathers and prove that he will finally raise the dead and be the judge of the risen. At the same time, the remission of sins was made possible for men.¹⁰⁸ The reason for the celebration of the eighth day is that it is the day of the resurrection of Jesus, which was the date of the beginning of a new world.¹⁰⁹ And one of the commandments from the two-way document which is incorporated in this epistle runs "thou shalt glorify him who redeemed thee from death. . . ."¹¹⁰ So in Barnabas we have a clearly stated doctrine of redemption from sin by means of the passion of Jesus; we have

death brought to nought through the resurrection; and Sunday is the weekly resurrection festival.

The Shepherd of Hermas is concerned mainly with the fate of those who fall into sin after having been baptized, and goes to great length to teach the necessity of purity of life and of penitence for sin. There is not a great deal of theological or Christological teaching, and what occurs is wrapped in symbols and figures until it is obscure. But there are clear evidences of the virtues of martyrdom. Those who have suffered for the Lord have the places of greatest honor in the church and in the day of rewards.¹¹¹ Also, there is a clear statement of the physical resurrection of Jesus, on the basis that his flesh had served his spirit perfectly and was therefore worthy of preservation and salvation.¹¹² It is this exaltation of the flesh which leads to the rigid standard of self-denial which is expounded at great length in this apocalypse. But Jesus had also performed much labor and toil for others and redeemed them from their sins. When he had cleansed them from their sins he showed them "the way of life, he gave them the law which he had received from his Father."¹¹³ The actual cleansing from sin occurs in the sacrament of baptism, where all sin is washed away.¹¹⁴ The great problem of the book is to deal with those who fall into sin because of the weakness of the flesh after the cleansing bath of regeneration.¹¹⁵ So we find it clear again, in the middle of the second century, when this work came into existence, that the doctrine of the resurrection of Jesus, in addition to the martyr incentive which the passion story gave, had a very powerful sacramental value, which was mediated to the disciple in baptism, where his sins were washed away.

Another treatise of a practical nature is Second Clement, but there is much evidence in this also of the

prominent function of the resurrection of Jesus. There is much emphasis upon the salvation which Jesus attained for us.¹¹⁶ He brought us light and saved us when we were perishing¹¹⁷; and the salvation comes through him.¹¹⁸ The actual seal of salvation is baptism, which apparently is sacramental.¹¹⁹ Those who do not keep the seal of baptism pure will suffer eternal punishment,¹²⁰ while the reward of keeping the seal pure, which is to keep the flesh free from sin after baptism by a sort of ascetic life, is to be immortality.¹²¹ For those who have the Holy Spirit there will be a resurrection of their flesh to immortality, just as was the case with Jesus.¹²² The place of suffering in the Christian life is explained by the promise of a future reward, and the reward is delayed in order that the motives of conduct may not be simply those of selfish gain.¹²³ It is in this form that the martyr appeal appears again. The function of Jesus is stated when he is referred to as savior and the prince of immortality, who manifested truth and life from heaven.¹²⁴

The Letter of Polycarp to the Philippians makes the suffering and victory of Jesus over death central in the scheme of redemption.¹²⁵ God who raised Jesus from the dead will also raise us up, if we walk in his commandments and love the things which he loved.¹²⁶ Whoever denies the testimony of the cross and says that there is neither resurrection nor judgment is the first-born of Satan.¹²⁷ Christians are urged to follow the example of the martyrs for the cause of Christ, who did not live in vain, and are now in the place which was their due, because they loved not this world, but Jesus who died on our behalf and whom God raised from the dead for our sakes.¹²⁸

The Martyrdom of Polycarp is abundant testimony to

the functional value of the resurrection of Jesus which we are tracing. The martyrology as such has thoroughly come into its own: "So they did not nail him, but bound him, and he put his hands behind him and was bound, as a noble ram out of a great flock, for an oblation, a whole burnt offering made ready and acceptable to God; and he looked up to heaven and said: 'O Lord God Almighty, Father of thy beloved and blessed Child, Jesus Christ, through whom we have received full knowledge of thee—I bless thee, that Thou hast granted me this day and hour, that I may share, among the number of the martyrs, in the cup of thy Christ, for the resurrection to everlasting life, both of soul and body in the immortality of the Holy Spirit.'"¹²⁹

The epistle to Diognetus, of rather uncertain date, contains the passage: "But when our iniquity was fulfilled and it had become fully manifest, that its reward of punishment and death waited for it . . . he did not hate us nor reject us nor remember us for evil, but was long-suffering, endured us, himself in pity took our sin, himself gave his own Son as ransom for us."¹³⁰

The significance of the resurrection of Jesus for Justin is indicated by the elaborate refutation which he makes of the charges of those who point out heathen parallels and bring Christianity into discredit by that means. These heathen myths are mere fictions and are the inventions of devils.¹³¹ The demons had heard the prophets of old as they spoke of the coming of the Christ and had sought to anticipate those teachings and deeds in their own heathen world in order to lead the races of men astray.¹³² But the resurrection of Jesus was a historical fact which was demonstrated to the disciples, for Jesus had sung hymns with them after he rose from the dead.¹³³ At his

crucifixion the disciples were scattered, but when he had risen from the dead he persuaded them that it had all been foretold in the prophets, how he was to suffer, and when they were persuaded he sent them out into all the world with his message.¹³⁴ To any thoughtful person it was really not incredible that God should raise the dead, in view of the marvelous nature of the process of germination which God performs for all creatures.¹³⁵ And the circumcision of the old covenant is a type of the real and true circumcision which we have in the new, in which we are cleansed from all iniquity by virtue of the resurrection of Jesus from the dead, which we celebrate on the day of the Sun, that is, on the Lord's Day.¹³⁶

IX

Now turning back to the uncanonical Gospel literature, we encounter further evidence that the resurrection of Jesus had a great functional value for the early church. This is manifested in the Gospel according to the Hebrews by the attempts to strengthen the proof of the historicity of the resurrection. In this Gospel it is related that Jesus, immediately upon rising from the dead, gave a linen cloth to the servant of the high priest, which was meant to be unquestionable proof to the Jews that Jesus had risen;¹³⁷ and after that he went to James and appeared to him and celebrated the feast of the Lord's Table with him as evidence that he was really alive again.¹³⁸ When he appeared to Peter and those with him he urged them to feel him and see that he was not merely a bodiless demon, and they felt him and were convinced.¹³⁹ And at the death of Jesus it was not the curtain of the temple that was rent but a lintel of the temple of immense size was broken and divided.¹⁴⁰

This type of interest was carried on in the Gospel of

Peter. The proof of the resurrection was made doubly sure. The tomb was made secure by seven seals upon the stone. The soldiers were set to watch under the centurion Petronius. Even the elders and scribes came to assist in the watch at the grave, and were present therefore at all that followed. The watchers pitched a tent to facilitate the vigil by the grave. Early on the morning of the Sabbath a multitude from all the surrounding country gathered at the grave to see what might happen. As the Lord's Day dawned there was a great sound in the heaven, as the heavens were opened and two men descended in great brilliance to the sepulchre. The stone rolled away of itself; the two young men entered the tomb and came out supporting the risen form of Jesus in majesty in the sight of all, and the cross followed after them; and in response to a question out of the sky, Jesus stated that he had preached to them that slept.¹⁴¹ The design here is for greater certainty in the historical evidence.

It is not necessary for the present purpose to trace the function of the resurrection of Jesus through all the uncanonical Gospel literature. The fact that this literature never ceased to be produced in all the history of the church, so that it continues to appear even at the present day, bears sufficient testimony to the place which the resurrection of Jesus has had in the thinking of the church. In the modern versions it is easily seen that the added features are mere inventions in the interest of romance, for financial motives, or often for the propagation of certain doctrinal positions. But always there have been those who undertook again to write the story of the resurrection of Jesus because they felt that all the writers who had preceded them had missed the right interpretation of that event, and that now they were in a position to give the accurate version and interpretation of it. In every

case the function of the doctrine for the writer had its part in giving color to the interpretation which was the product of his pen.¹⁴²

This survey has shown that the resurrection of Jesus served at least the following functions for certain individuals and groups in the emerging Christian movement: it was an example of the triumphant outcome of heroic martyrdom; it proved that Jesus was the Christ and the Son of God; and it had a cosmic and sacramental significance for all mankind. It was the central feature of the process in which there was redemption from sin, victory over death, the annihilation of Hades, and the attainment of immortality, in the present life and in the life to come, through the exercise of faith and the observance of baptism and the Lord's Supper.

CHAPTER VIII

THE QUEST FOR IMMORTALITY

A survey of the Christian literature of the first and second centuries shows that the resurrection of Jesus served at least the following functions for certain individuals and groups in that age: it was the triumphant culmination and reward of martyrdom; it proved that Jesus was the Christ and the Son of God; and for many persons of that age it had a cosmic and sacramental significance. It was the basis of the process in which there was redemption from sin, victory over death, the annihilation of Hades, and the attainment of immortality, not only in this life but also in the life to come, through the exercise of faith and the observance of baptism and the Lord's Supper. It is in place, in the light of this significance of the resurrection of Jesus from the dead, to raise the question why this event acquired and maintained such a significance and function in that world. The answer is to be expected in a survey of the religious needs and quests for salvation in that same world where this story came into existence and served its function. This survey will begin with Judaism and proceed to the wider field of the gentile peoples.

I

In the religion of the Old Testament there is little place for personal salvation or immortality, except as it is attained as a member of the national group. But as early as Job there appears a clear belief that death is not the

annihilation of life, and that after death man goes into the prison of Sheol, a dismal place of gloom from which there is no return, and in which there could hardly be such a state as consciousness. It is a place that has no attraction save that of the cessation of all the labors and quests that bring tragedies to the human soul; and all classes of men are there—kings, councilors, princes, infants, prisoners and servants. It is the place for the bitter of soul who longs for the grave and is happy when he finds it.¹ Those who have gone down there escape no more from its prison.² In some of the Psalms there begins to be a hope of deliverance and of redemption from Sheol,³ but there is yet no idea of a resurrection. There first appeared the thought of a resurrection of the nation, in which the individual is not thought of as such.⁴ But the first clear mention of individual resurrection is in the post-exilic words of Isaiah, "Thy dead shall live; my dead bodies shall arise; Awake and sing, ye that dwell in the dust; for thy dew is as the dew of herbs, and the earth shall cast forth the dead."⁵ But these words apparently refer only to the righteous. The first intimation of a resurrection for both good and bad is the statement of Daniel during the Maccabean revolution, "And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt."⁶

From the time of Daniel onward the doctrine of resurrection was at the heart of Judaism. One of the most important of the sources for inter-biblical Judaism is the book of Enoch, comprising, as it does, several different strata, probably from different hands. In the different strata there occurs at times the idea of the resurrection of a material body, while in other places it appears to be only of the spirit.⁷ Second Maccabees presents a very elaborate doctrine of a physical resurrection to everlasting

life, in which the bodies are the same as before death and the human relations and functions are resumed;⁸ and this teaching was held out as the incentive to martyrdom in that time of national peril.⁹

In the book of Jubilees there appears again the idea of spiritual immortality, while the body lies in the grave, "And their bones shall rest in the earth, and their spirits shall have much joy."¹⁰ But Sheol is here the place of condemnation for those who have worshiped idols rather than a common abode for both good and bad, as formerly.¹¹ The Assumption of Moses pictures the abode of the wicked in the torments of Gehenna, while the righteous have the heaven of the stars for their habitation, from which they behold the suffering of the wicked and rejoice,¹² the conception here being that of spiritual immortality. In II Baruch there appears an idea of the resurrection that is very similar to Paul's, in that he has a physical and spiritual conception combined which leads into difficulties.¹³ In the Alexandrian Jewish literature there appears only the Greek idea of spiritual immortality. The Wisdom of Solomon gives a clear expression of individual immortality beyond the grave, after the soul, which is pre-existent, has departed from its earthly tabernacle, which falls to the dust and never rises.¹⁴ Philo is a classic example of this view, in teaching that the body is made of evil matter and that the soul passes immediately after death into its final abode.¹⁵ Fourth Maccabees is another example of the great interest in spiritual immortality.¹⁶ The Secrets of Enoch presents a picture of the righteous Enoch after his earthly garments have been laid away and, arrayed in garments of the Lord, he is like one of his glorious ones;¹⁷ and there is a terrible place of eternal punishment for the wicked.¹⁸

Out of this survey of the ideas of salvation and im-

mortality in Hebraism and Judaism, there is evident the development of the old idea of Sheol as a place of dismal shades into a place of eternal punishment for the wicked; the transition from national success and restoration to a belief in personal immortality, expressed first in terms of physical resurrection and later in terms of a spiritual life of immortality with God; and we have found that the promise of resurrection was held out as an incentive to martyrdom.

II

In addition to the sources cited above, the rabbinic literature contains information about the beliefs of first century Judaism. This is true also of Josephus, who presents the Pharisees as those who believed in resurrection and immortality, as over against the Sadducees, who denied both.¹⁹ He also testifies to the Essene belief in spiritual immortality.²⁰ Rabbinism came into literary form at a later date, but it bears testimony that is valuable at this point, since the material found there is often that which had been handed down for many generations; and in this case it is proved to be accurate in the beliefs represented by the witnesses which have been cited above from the earlier times. Apparently, all the rabbis held to the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead. The idea that God stands in a close relation to the dead is very prominent. Rabbi Schimson b. Jochai (c. 150 A. D.) said: "God binds his name with the righteous not during their life but only after their death."²¹ The rabbis proved that there would be a resurrection by numerous passages of scripture. Rabban Gamaliel (c. 90 A. D.) was asked by the Sadducees to prove the resurrection and answered: "Out of the Torah and out of the prophets and out of the Hagiographa."²² The future resurrection was proved by

the fact that God had given examples of the resurrection in the past in specific instances; such cases cited were the deeds of Elijah, Elisha and Ezekiel.²³ It is said in the words of Resch Laqisch (c. 250 A. D.), "When the heretics say to you that God will not raise the dead, answer them thus: Behold Elijah proves it, through whom he made a dead man live again."²⁴ And in addition to the arguments from scripture and from examples there were attempts to justify the resurrection on a philosophical basis. G'biha b. P'sisa argued, "If those who did not exist came to live, why should not those who have existed be made to live again?"²⁵ And the daughter of Gamaliel I (c. 90 A. D.) is made to reply to the emperor Hadrian, who had asked if those who had become dust could live again,

There are in our city two potters; the one makes vessels out of water, the other out of clay. Which of them deserves the greater praise? The emperor replied, "The one who makes from water." She said, "If God created a man out of water (the semen) how much more could he create one out of clay (the dust of the grave)?"²⁶

Furthermore, it is held that it is God's prerogative to raise the dead. R. Jochanan (279 A. D.), said: "There are three keys in the hand of God which were not given into the hand of any other, that is, to rain, to the mother's womb, and to the resurrection of the dead."²⁷ It was held also that righteous ones could raise the dead, as has been shown in the cases cited from the Old Testament; but it would be true again in the future also, as shown in the words of R. Sch'muel (c. 260 A. D., quoting R. Jonathan c. 220 A. D.): "Some day the righteous will raise the dead, for it is said: 'Again old men and old women shall sit in the streets of Jerusalem, and each one with his staff in his hand.'"²⁸ In line with the notion that the

righteous could raise the dead were the stories given of cases in which the rabbis had actually brought the dead to life. It was told of R. Schimson b. Chalaphta (c. 190 A. D.) that, when put to the test, he went to a dead servant and said, “‘Why do you lie stretched out here when your master stands at your feet?’ Immediately he moved himself and stood up!”²⁹ Similar tales are related about later rabbis. But it is not until the very late word of R. Eliezer, which originated probably in Palestine in the beginning of the ninth century, that resurrection of the dead is considered the work of the Messiah, where it is said: “Why is the name of the Messiah called Yinnon? Because he some day will awaken those who are sleeping in the dust.”³⁰

It is evident, therefore, that a belief in the resurrection of the dead was one of the outstanding features of Rabbinism; that it was to be a resurrection of the physical body; that this belief was derived from the scriptures; that it had been authenticated by specific examples; that it was justified on philosophical grounds; that the raising of the dead was held to be the prerogative of God; that rabbis could raise the dead, and had done it; and (in later literature) that the Messiah himself should raise the dead, when he came.

III

The Messiah had a large place in Judaism of the first century B. C. and the first century A. D. He enjoyed heavenly pre-existence in company with immortal companions (Baruch, Elijah, Enoch, Ezra, Moses, etc.);³¹ he would rule four hundred years;³² he would gather the dispersed of Israel;³³ he should judge the tribes;³⁴ he was pure from sin;³⁵ he should purge Jerusalem.³⁶ The Messiah would rule the heathen;³⁷ he would take vengeance

upon the enemies and deliver the captivity from Beliar;³⁸ he would give to all those who call upon him eternal peace in the Eden of the New Jerusalem;³⁹ he would give his children power to tread upon evil spirits;⁴⁰ in his priesthood sin should come to an end;⁴¹ he should open the gates of paradise to his children, where he would be well pleased in them forever;⁴² and it would be his function to execute final judgment.⁴³

IV

This survey of Jewish sources reveals how the functions which the early Christians attributed to the resurrection of Jesus harmonized with the needs which were expressed in the different stages of the Jewish religion. There is the martyr motif, the proof by an example that has occurred that God will raise the dead, the cleansing from sin, the victory over evil spirits, and all the functions which the apocalyptic Messiah was to exercise for his people and for the nations. It is plain that these beliefs of the early church would find a place in the Jewish ranks that came into the Christian movement, and that these Jews brought over with them their own peculiar quests and clothed them in a new Christian terminology. On the other hand, the functions of the resurrection of Jesus from the dead were more than those found in Judaism, and they involved a different method of realization from any of those which appear in any of the various stages of the Jewish religion. There was in early Christian experience the sacramental function of the resurrection of Jesus, which is never expressed in any phase of the Jewish religion that has left its records. By virtue of his resurrection Jesus had attained immortality, not only for himself but also for all those who believed that God had raised him from the dead, and had participated in the

mystical union with him by means of the sacraments. That function of Jesus appears more or less clearly in nearly all the various types of early Christian thought, and is especially prominent in the Pauline mysticism and in those phases of the church which were influenced by him. The believer became immortal by coming into contact with the divine substance in a rebirth experience. To understand this function, which resulted from the cosmic victory attained in the resurrection of Jesus, we must look to sources other than the religion of the Jews. This contact between the divinity and the believer is based upon a dualism between matter and spirit. It is based upon the notion that matter is inherently evil. Such a dualism was not characteristic of the Jews, and, for that reason, such a process of contact salvation and mystical rebirth was not at home with them. So we turn to the gentile quests for salvation.

V

The Jews came eventually to be concerned with the problem of individual immortality, but the Greeks were occupied with that quest almost from the beginning. They took up the struggle with this problem much earlier than did the Jews and, due to their different philosophical presuppositions, approached its solution upon another basis. The dualism of Plato between the phenomenal world and the world of ultimate reality, between the illusory impressions which our senses are able to give us and ultimate truth, which he was never able to bridge in a satisfactory way, stated the problem with which the later thinkers never ceased to grapple. The Epicurean attained a synthesis by means of his atomistic materialism. The Stoic did the same by means of the principle of rationality, which pervaded the universe as the imminent sustaining power.

This imminent force was the world soul, and a spark of it was lodged in man. These solutions of the dualism were not entirely satisfactory, however, and paved the way for the re-emergence of Platonism under a more mystical interpretation and application, as a method for bringing the soul into immediate communion with the Absolute and Ultimate. The Epicureans had eliminated spiritual reality from their materialism; the Stoics underestimated the materialistic point of view and rather mechanized their spiritual interpretation; but the Neo-Platonists fully recognized both the material and the spiritual aspects of reality, and devised an elaborate technique to bridge over the chasm that lay between these two worlds. With but few exceptions these philosophers were all interested in the struggle for immortality and had a firm belief that the soul of man would survive the grave in some form, the form being dependent upon the philosophical presuppositions involved in any particular case.

But the Greek notion that matter is evil whereas spirit is good, led them to a belief in a spiritual immortality, as contrasted with the idea of bodily resurrection in late Judaism. There was no desire for a reanimation of the flesh in the future life. The dualism between matter and spirit had led to the immortality of the soul as shown in Plato; the spirit of man was made in the same crucible as the great spirit of the universe, only from material hardly so fine in quality. The same dualism led the Epicureans to the extreme reaction of a materialistic monism which left no place for spiritual existence of any sort at all, though immortality as material substance was a part of their system. However, it was not an immortality either to be feared or desired, for man only lapsed back into the state of unconsciousness out of which he came. The Stoics took the other horn of the dilemma stated by Plato and

affirmed that man is one with the universe through the imminent Logos; but this was a thorough-going monism with no distinction between soul substance and body substance; so that in reality the same position with regard to the future life which was reached in Epicureanism logically followed out of the Stoic philosophy. Heaven and Hell and the fear of the gods were removed from the motives of human action. Both systems therefore were essentially materialistic.

All of the philosophers were alike in that they began with the individual and emphasized the importance of human personality over against the domination of the community or the state. This individualism ultimately became hostile to the solutions of the Stoics and Epicureans and looked upon them as a turning away from the best hopes of mankind into a gloomy and hopeless pessimism. The way of the Stoics and the Epicureans was, in both cases, too simple and left too much that was not solved; so that it was superseded eventually by the re-emergence of Platonism and by the satisfaction of the quests of the soul for immortality in the more concrete ways of the popular cults. The Stoic was ready to suffer martyrdom for his convictions; the death of Jesus for his faith would appeal to him; but the promise which the Stoic himself held out as a reward of martyrdom was not to be compared to the hope which filled those who gave their lives gladly in the early centuries in order to become real disciples of Jesus. So through the three primary questions of Greek philosophy—ontology, epistemology, and ethics—there ran an ever-present dualism which was never successfully bridged. There was the chasm between matter and spirit, with its implications for the immortality of the human soul, and with its expectation of the continuation or dissolution of personal consciousness be-

yond the grave ; there was the dualism between the sensuous world of materiality and that of super-sensuous, ultimate reality ; and there was the struggle between good and bad, pain and pleasure, joy and happiness and pessimistic gloom. The different schools of thought were only the logical reactions to one or all of these dilemmas, which represent the basic dualism running through them all. But now what did the resurrection message of the early church hold for men who were grappling with these problems, which had remained ever insoluble in defiance of the best intellects of those giants of the Greek genius ?

At the first glance it is apparent that there was one point in common between the solutions offered by the various systems of the philosophers and the function of the risen Jesus in the early church : in both cases the concern was with the individual. In the second place, it is evident that in both cases the fundamental chasm of the old dualism was bridged over. But in the third place, it is quite clear that the methods of solution were entirely different in the two cases : the philosopher rose up in his own strength and grappled with the ever present paradox ; the Christian reached his solution by a sacramental participation in the cosmic victory of his Lord. The one was philosophical and intellectual, through constant struggle, while the other was mystical and sacramental, through the exercise of faith. Between the two ways of solution there was the choice between the hard path of human attainment and the pleasant way of supernatural assurance and victory. It was but natural that the Christian message of the risen Lord should meet with some response from those who had tried the more difficult philosophical approach. That such was actually the case is shown by such men as Justin, Aristides, Athenagoras, and Clement of Alexandria, all of whom had been philosophers before they were

converted to Christianity. For the philosopher to find his satisfactions in the Christian way, it was only necessary for him to be persuaded of the historicity of the claims which were made by the Christian preachers on behalf of the Lord whom they proclaimed. Salvation was by faith; but faith eventually lost its vital significance and was merged with the gnosis of philosophical speculation. In the transition the sanctions of conduct—at first the promptings of the spirit and the teaching of Jesus in oral form, now systematized in literary form—were given a philosophical dress and preserved as an infallible source of authority. The certainty of knowledge based upon revelation was maintained. The guarantee of immortality, either spiritual or bodily, was secure. The historical evidence of Christianity, with its manifestations of the super-sensuous, ultimate world in supernatural, miraculous forms and its concrete ethical rules of life, if accepted, solved the problems of being, knowing and conduct. So the philosopher found the solution of his dualism in the synthesis presented in the historical revelation of God through the incarnation of Jesus Christ and in his resurrection from the dead. Due to the radical difference between the Christian and the philosophical answers to these problems, there were of course not many conversions to the message of the cross from the schools of the Greek thinkers; for to them the word of the cross appeared as foolishness. It did not do justice to the dignity of the human mind; it was the way of the weak man who cowered before the ultimate problems of life; it was the way of those who had lost confidence in man's inherent power to solve the riddles of the universe; and it was a return to the same superstitions which had long ago been rejected by all thinking men.

VI

But not all Greeks and Romans were men of the philosophical schools. On the contrary, the great masses of the men of that time found the satisfaction of their religious needs not in philosophy, but in the religions of redemption that had come out of the Orient and had become diffused all over the Hellenistic world.⁴⁴ These religions, in many cases, through their mysteries, made salvation possible through the sacramental participation of the devotee in the victory which the Lord of the cult had gained in a great cosmic struggle. In most cases the Lord had died, had gone into Hades and gained a victory there, and had risen in triumph from the grave. The mysteries of Dionysus, Cybele-Attis, Adonis, Mithra, Isis, and others, each with its own peculiar variations, provided means by which the devotee shared in the victory of the god. Since the god had gained the victory over death and had attained immortality, he had the power of conferring these benefits upon those who came into sacramental communion with him. By means of various lustrations, meals, sacred dramas, and orgiastic performances, all of a sacramental nature, a contact was brought about between the divine and human beings in a mystical union and communion, so that all the impurities of earth were purged away; the devotee was reborn with the same quality of life which his Lord possessed; he became divine and had the assurance of immortality.

In addition to the sources providing information about these cults, which are cited by the older authorities in this field, we are now able to point to more definite evidence of their early wide diffusion. Deissmann cites from the papyri a record of a collection for the Isis cult of 63 A. D.⁴⁵ Out of the second century we have many such

documents as "Antoninus, son of Ptolemaeus, invites you to dine with him at the table of the lord Serapis in the house of Claudius Serapion on the 16th at 9 o'clock."⁴⁶ Such a citation reminds one of the house-churches mentioned in the New Testament. The cult meals were found in competition with the Lord's Supper at Corinth.⁴⁷ The records of cult feasts go back as far as the third century B. c. A recently published papyrus shows the existence of a Mithreum in the Fayûm in the third century B. c.⁴⁸ This papyrus indicates the diffusion of Mithraism in parts of the Mediterranean world at that early date. Competition of the cults with Christianity is reflected very clearly by Justin and Tertullian in their time by their condemnation of the cult meals and practices, which were similar to those of the church.⁴⁹ It was alleged by these writers that demons had stolen the ideas of the Lord's Supper and baptism, as well as many other features of the Christian religion, and had caused their imitation in the pagan cults. Tertullian makes it especially clear that Mithraism was an important competitor of Christianity at this time; and he affirms that the Mithraists, the worshipers of Isis, and others,

. . . who are strangers to all understanding of spiritual powers, ascribe to their idols the imbuing of waters with the selfsame efficacy, but they cheat themselves with waters which are widowed. For washing is the channel through which they are initiated into some sacred rites. . . . We recognize here also the zeal of the devil rivaling the things of God, while we find him, too, practicing baptism on his subjects.⁵⁰

The wide diffusion of Orphism in the first century of the Christian era, with its elaborate sacramentalism, is proved by the discovery of an Orpheum, in which the mysteries were practiced secretly, apparently because the religion was illegal there, in the ruins of Pompeii, which was buried by the eruption of Vesuvius, 79 A. D.⁵¹

In such circles as those of these cults, which existed in the centuries preceding and following the rise of the Christian movement, the teaching of Paul and John about sacramental communion with the Lord, through the sacred meal and baptism, which gave to the believer a rebirth and the promise of immortality after death, would be very satisfying. Both in the cults and in Christianity the same needs are satisfied; and the method is the same. The believer is redeemed from sin by communion with his Lord and not through any merit of his own. There is no uncertainty due to the weakness of the flesh about ethical attainment; and there are no philosophical paradoxes and dualisms with their chasms which can never be bridged. Jesus Christ came to seek and to save that which was lost. And now in Christ, neither circumcision nor uncircumcision, slave nor free, Jew nor Greek, avails anything, but a new creature, born not of the flesh or of blood, but by the will of God.

So it was that in all the Mediterranean world—to the Jew, whether with the conceptions of Hebraism, Judaism or Rabbinism, to the philosophers of the Greeks and Romans, in their despairing struggles with life's ultimate riddles, or to those great masses of mankind who derived their satisfactions through mystical sacramental means—to every one who believed, the gospel of the risen Christ was the power of God unto salvation.⁵² It was this functional value of the doctrine of the resurrection of Jesus from the grave, for the various classes of men who inhabited the circle around the Mediterranean, which caused it to be passed down from generation to generation, being continuously enriched with more expressive imagery and symbolism and increasingly laden with deeper meaning, until it has become a part of the most highly valued heritage of our own day.

CHAPTER IX

THE EMERGING STORY

In its simplest form the narrative of the resurrection of Jesus had only the brief statement, "The Lord has actually risen and appeared to Simon!"¹ The passage contains only seven words in Greek. In the more elaborate accounts of the resurrection found in the Gospels and especially in the uncanonical accounts, the original brevity is no longer in evidence.² Between the brief fragment that Luke preserves imbedded in a context where it seems not to be quite at home and these more elaborate forms of the story a long process of development has occurred. It is our purpose here to indicate some of the principles which underlay this process of growth. The first problem of the investigation was to study the factors which entered into the experience of Peter, which resulted in the simplest form of the resurrection narrative; and each succeeding study has dealt with some phase of the long process of evolution. Now it is proposed to indicate in a more connected way the general principles which controlled the growth from the time of that first germinal experience of Peter until the narrative, through a complex process of more and more definite elaboration, came at last to assume the definitive form in which it exists at the present time.

The investigation has shown that the material of which the resurrection narratives are composed is the product of a long cult process; that the material was first used in the ceremonies and as the basis of the devotional life of

the early church; and that the various features of the stories came into existence and survived or perished on the basis of their functional value and validity. The narratives survived and were passed on by the processes of the cult life just in proportion as they were effective and satisfying for the needs which called them into existence. So they were given to later generations of the church. The diversity of needs of the emerging Christian movement occasioned the rise of a large variety of very different versions of the several features of the cult story; these existed side by side for a time; and some of them were adopted as doubles of the same incident and preserved in the tradition. But a process of elimination of the less desirable versions of the early tradition took place, so that many of the forms of traditions which once existed finally perished, and what has survived portrays only a small fraction of the large mass of material which was at one time in circulation. It represents the end of the selective process of the cult activities and general devotional life of the church.

We have seen that the resurrection narrative was the interpretation in story form, at least to a large degree, of the thinking about the person of Jesus in the early church; that the narrative was used in the early Christian preaching; and that it was fundamental in the ceremonies of the Lord's Supper, baptism and Passover. All of these uses which were made of the narrative must have had a part in giving the story its final content and definitive form. Being the narrative which was used for the purposes of a religious cult, the story deals with the divinity of the cult; and, for that reason, it was shaped by the thinking of the members of the cult about their Lord. The Gospels are not, strictly speaking, biographies of Jesus.³ The purpose of the documents is not primarily

historical and scientific. It is rather to exalt the idea of the person of Jesus, which is held by the church of the time; it is to give whatever may be found of value from the incidents of the life of Jesus for the devotional life of the church; and to serve as instruments for the propagation of the Christian faith in the Greek world, after the beginning days in Palestine are past.⁴ So the Gospels are documents of the devotional life and of propaganda for the new religion, rather than purely historical treatises, and their origin must be considered from that point of view. That is true especially of the narratives of the resurrection. This phase of the life story of Jesus consists of episodes which are related to have transpired after the normal processes of life were over, and had interest only for their religious significance in the age for which they were produced, and for the cult which used them in the cultivation and perpetuation of its devotional life. The purpose is, first, to restore the reputation of Jesus, who had died on the cross, just as the purpose of Plato and Xenophon was to honor the great teacher Socrates, who had drunk the hemlock.⁵ And in both cases, that of Jesus and of Socrates, the purpose was also to perpetuate the teachings and influence of the ones who had been slain. So the Gospels centered around the life and career of Jesus and concerned themselves with the perpetuation of the church which took its origin from him. The nucleus of the gospel was the passion story and the feature of the passion which gave it validity was the narrative of the resurrection of Jesus from the dead.

The fully developed narrative of the resurrection of Jesus had the following features: the story of the finding of the open grave; the witnesses of the open grave; the appearances of angels as messengers from heaven; the story of the *descensus* and victory of Jesus over Hades;

the appearances of Jesus to the disciples after his resurrection; the giving of the great commission; the ascension; and the coming of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost. Now since it has been shown that this was the cult story of the early church and that the narrative grew up in response to definite needs in the circles of life which the story nourished, it should be possible to analyze the life of the cult which produced the story and to show, in the main at least, the interests which led to the development of the narrative. When these interests which existed in the social movement are pointed out, it will be possible to indicate how they reacted upon the narrative which had existed prior to that time and upon the activities of the church at the time, to shape the developing cult story. It is logical to look, therefore, for the great interests around which the life of the early church was organized; to look for the struggles with enemies, both inside and outside the church; and to outline the problems with which the church had to grapple. It is but natural that these struggles of the church should have left their impression upon the cult story of the church; and there can be no doubt that the different features of the cult story are the registrations in literary form of interests in the life of the church which produced that narrative.

I

The first great feature of the narrative of the resurrection of Jesus is the story of the open grave. We are confronted with the question of the origin of this part of the cult story. We may not be able definitely to give the origin of the story but the function of this part of the narrative is clear. This is, in the first place, the way the cult had of explaining to persons who had not had the vision experiences that Jesus had risen from the dead.

The tomb was found open; the body was gone; therefore a resurrection had taken place; and what was meant by a resurrection was presented in the most vivid imagery by the description of a tomb with the stone rolled away from the door. So the purpose and function of the open grave was pedagogical. It was the parable of the resurrection, which was rich in symbolism for the most highly cultured adult or was understood as well by children.

Another function of the open grave was apologetic. It was the proof which the Christians came to give that Jesus had risen from the dead. The open grave was seen by certain well known women; or by chosen men of the most intimate group of the disciples; it was testified to by messengers from heaven; it was proved by the presence of a guard of soldiers; by the seals placed upon the stone to prevent a grave robbery; by the stone placed at the door which twenty men could hardly roll;⁶ by a great multitude from all the surrounding region, who came to see the marvelous occurrences; by the sight of Jesus himself in bodily form coming forth from the grave with glorious appearance;⁷ and by the sending of a linen cloth to the servant of the high priest.⁸ As these various elaborations were given to the story of the open grave, the apologetic and pedagogical function was the determining factor in each case. There runs throughout the idea of making the evidence more convincing and, at the same time, of making the story more attractive with the elaborate embellishments, so that it would more readily grip the minds of those who read it or heard it told.

As to the ultimate origin of the several features of this story about the open grave, it is evident that many of the details are additions which were made after the outlines of the narrative were formed. It is clear that the Western addition about the stone which twenty men could scarcely

roll is quite late; that the Matthaean, Lukan and Johannine accounts of the attendants at the grave, when the women arrived there, are all later versions of the more primitive Markan statement that a young man spoke to the women, the addition being of such a character as to magnify the messenger and the grandeur of the scene. The story of the guard at the grave, with the various elaborations, clearly came to offset the charge of the Jews that the disciples had stolen the body of Jesus. The sending of a linen cloth to the servant of the high priest was due to the same interest of apologetic against the Jews. The women at the tomb were the witnesses of the empty grave to the disciples, but soon they were not considered reliable enough as witnesses, so the most outstanding leader of the early disciples was introduced as the witness.⁹ Thus the story of the empty grave was continually elaborated with its greater functional value always in view.

But still the problem of origin is left unsolved. It is held by some that the discovery of the open grave by the women was a historical fact,¹⁰ and that this led to the account of that event which has come down to us. The emptiness of the grave is accounted for either on the basis of a robbery or by a mistake on the part of the women in the early dawn in going to a grave that was really empty. The possibility of this explanation cannot be denied, though the fact that Paul makes no reference to the open grave is strong evidence that the story was not known in the early church. There seems to be no good reason why Paul should have remained silent about the grave story if he had known it, since it would have been so appropriate for his purpose. On the other hand, it is difficult to account for the origin of the story with the women as witnesses. Unless the story is historical, how did it come

about that women, who were not considered desirable witnesses, were connected with it in the first place? It seems evident from the nature of the story that it originated with women whether it is historical or not. It would be but natural for the women who had been most intimately associated with Jesus to be connected with such a story, when once it had come into existence.

Another possible explanation of the origin of this story is that it was an inference from the resurrection faith. When once Jews came to believe that Jesus had risen they would think of an empty grave, since they believed that resurrection involved the physical body. The details would be supplied by conjectures and vision experiences. The vision experiences may have been the source of the story. The women may have seen visions of Jesus alive and interpreted the experiences by means of the grave story.

Still another possible explanation would be the parallel myths in the cults of the Greek world. The Mithraists held that their god had been born from a rock, and a rock was used in the ceremonies;¹¹ the worshipers of Attis at times simulated his death and resurrection by raising his image from a grave at the end of three days;¹² and the worshipers of Osiris pointed to several graves of that divinity in the land of Egypt.¹³ It is possible therefore that the grave story of the church was taken over entirely by the process of syncretism from one of these cults. That such syncretism did often take place in the religions of that time is very well known. We have no reason for denying the possibility in the case of Christianity. As an explanation of the grave story therefore we have the possibilities of a historical incident, in which the women really found the open grave, of the story being due to a vision experience, of the inference from the resurrection faith,

or of the adoption of a grave story from one of the contemporary cults by a process of syncretism, which was going on all the time in that age.

When once the story was adopted it had great functional value, especially for those Christians who had been members of the cults which had a similar story in their ceremonies. The introduction of Peter and the beloved disciple into the story in the Fourth Gospel is due to the prominence of those two persons in the early church. Their testimony to the open grave was of greater importance than that of any other persons. The presence of the women as mourners in the narrative is paralleled by the goddesses and feminine characters in many of the cult resurrection stories. Osiris was mourned by his sister; and the rites always involved certain days of weeping for the divinity.¹⁴ The rising of the waters of the Nile was due to the tears of Isis. Similar rites of mourning were kept for Attis and Adonis.¹⁵

It is not definitely claimed that the Christian narrative was influenced from these sources, but there is room for such influence. The most that can be done in this case is to state an hypothesis that would account for the narrative which we have; and that has been done. It is quite possible that neither one of the hypotheses stated is sufficient alone to account for the narrative, but that several influences worked together to give us the story of the empty grave as it comes to us at the present time. And whatever influences actually had a part in determining the form of the original story, we may be certain, just as in the case of all of the Gospel records and narratives, that it was interpreted in the light of the prophecies of the Old Testament. That this was the case is proved by the express statements of Luke and Paul.¹⁶

II

A prominent feature of the grave story is the day of the week and the time of day when the discovery was made. It is not in place here again to enter the involved discussion of the origin of the Christian observance of Sunday, but simply to indicate that this custom was probably preserved by the converts who had come into the church bringing over their association with Sunday, which had its sacredness already fully developed—out of Mithraism and various forms of Sun worship; that the date of the vision of Peter seems, possibly at least, to have been on Sunday; that these influences in conjunction with the three days motif, in which the spirit of the dead was supposed to linger about the body before taking its departure into Hades, determined the celebration of Sunday, which eventually supplanted the Sabbath; and that the church then gave the practice validity by designating Sunday as the day of the resurrection of Jesus from the dead.

Such an explanation is in harmony with the use of the narrative as the cult story of the church. The time of day when the grave was discovered may have been determined in a similar way. The Gospels agree in placing the discovery near sunrise, although Matthew relates that it occurred “as it began to dawn,” Luke, “at early dawn,” Mark, “when the Sun was risen,” while John states that Mary came “while it was yet dark.” From Mark to John the tendency is to place the discovery as early on the first day of the week as possible. Now in view of the use of the passion story as the cult narrative, is it not probable that this feature of the narratives shows the influence of the time of day when the cult worship took place each first day of the week? The only evidence which we

have about the time of day when the disciples met for worship is in harmony with this. It seems to have been the custom to meet for worship before dawn. When Paul and his company passed through Troas on the return from the last journey through his mission field, they tarried to break bread, and their gathering was prolonged "even till break of day."¹⁷ From the beginning of the second century we have the testimony of Pliny that the Christians "were wont, on a stated day, to meet together before it was light, and to sing a hymn to Christ as to a god, etc."¹⁸ Further evidence comes from the statement of Tertullian in defending the Christians against the charge of Sun worship. He says,

Others, with greater regard to good manners, it must be confessed, suppose that the Sun is the god of the Christians, because it is a well known fact that we pray towards the east, or because we make Sunday a day of festivity. What then? Do you do less than this? Do not many among you with an affectation of sometimes worshiping the heavenly bodies likewise, move your lips in the direction of the sunrise?¹⁹

There can hardly be doubt on the basis of this evidence of Acts, of Pliny and of Tertullian that the early Christians had the custom of meeting for worship at dawn.²⁰

It is probable that the custom was a result of the syncretism of the time. The practice of worship at dawn had wide prevalence at the very time when the Christian movement began. Josephus describes the custom of the Essenes, "for before sunrising they speak not a word about profane matters, but put up certain prayers which they have received from their forefathers, as if they made a supplication for its rising."²¹ The custom of Mithraists of worshiping at sunrise is well known. Mithra was the god of light. He was identified with the Roman *Sol* and the Greek *Helios*. It was the practice of his worshipers to

engage in their devotions at dawn. That is evident from the defense of Tertullian against the charge that "the Sun is our god. We shall be counted Persians, perhaps, though we do not worship the orb of day painted on a piece of linen cloth, having himself everywhere in his own disk. The idea no doubt has originated from our being known to turn to the east in prayer."²² Obviously Tertullian was describing the practices of Mithraists of his time. Another example of Sun worship, or of prayers at dawn, is the Therapeutae of Egypt. Philo states that they offered their prayers while the Sun was rising.²³ And a further example of a similar practice is the Wisdom of Solomon's admonition that prayers should be offered "towards dawn."²⁴

With such a wide prevalence of worship at dawn it would not be strange if Christians should follow the same practice, and if their practice should be a continuation of customs which they had brought with them into the church. It seems reasonable therefore to conclude that this cult practice of worshiping at dawn was the factor which determined the belief that Jesus had risen from the dead at that time. Sunday was the day of worship. It was the day of the resurrection. Dawn was the time of worship. It was most natural to set the hour of resurrection at the very time when the disciples met to worship the risen Lord. Also it was to be expected that the practice would finally be given validity by being attributed to scriptural authority; and so we find Tertullian explaining that Hosea had foretold the visit of the women to the tomb before the coming of dawn.²⁵

III

It came to be believed also that Jesus went down into Hades during the time between his death and resurrection

and preached the gospel there, and that he raised many of the saints that slept from the dead. That was a logical deduction in the light of the resurrection faith and of the victory of Jesus over Hades and all demonic powers. If he died he must have gone into Hades, the abode of the dead. If he rose again, he must have broken out of Hades. If he triumphed over Hades and overcame death for all men, he must have released the saints of old from their prisons (Mat. 27:52-53). If he really was the savior of all mankind he must have preached his gospel to the dead as well as to the living (I Pet. 3:19; 4:6; Gospel of Peter 9:34 f.). And later fancy supplied all the fascinating details of this visit to the underworld and of the things which Jesus did in the infernal regions (*Acta Pilati*). The germ of this story was drawn from prophecy (Acts 2:27), but it was made credible and acceptable by the large number of similar stories about the various cult divinities, which were so well known in that world.²⁸

IV

The next great phenomenon of the narrative of the resurrection is the appearances. A steady development takes place from the account in Paul, through the Gospels, and into the uncanonical literature. In the Pauline record there is a simple recital of vision experiences, with no statements about the actual bodily appearance of Jesus. In Mark the record still represents a very early stage. As the record stands in the present fragmentary condition there is actually no appearance described, although it is clearly implied that Jesus did appear to Peter and the disciples with him after they had returned to Galilee. The only witness to the fact of the resurrection is the young man "sitting on the right side, arrayed in a white robe," who told the women that Jesus had risen.

Mark does not say that this young man was an angel but he probably meant to leave that impression.²⁷ At any rate, he had become an angel whose "appearance was like lightning" for Matthew.²⁸ As the women started to leave, Jesus himself met them and gave the same message that the angel had just delivered. This is evidently a double of the same tradition, which Matthew relates as two events. In Luke, there are two men in "dazzling apparel."²⁹ And in the Johannine account there are two angels, but Jesus himself also appears to Mary.³⁰ The trend is toward a stronger witness for the resurrection, as a result of the apologetic directed against the faith of the early church. A young man becomes an angel in glorious apparel, or two men in glorious apparel, or two angels, and, finally, in the Gospel of Peter, the two angels are actually seen supporting the majestic form of Jesus between them, and a voice is heard from the sky asking Jesus whether he had preached to them that sleep.³¹

But in the appearances of Jesus to the disciples there is also a development in the conception of the nature of his resurrection body. In the Pauline record, the conception is apparently entirely spiritual; or, at least, there is no special effort to show that the appearances were in the actual flesh and blood of Jesus. The same is true of Mark. In Matthew the tendency of materialization has begun, for "they took hold of his feet and worshiped him."³² In Luke the tendency has become extreme. The disciples were terrified when Jesus appeared for they thought he was a spirit; but Jesus explained that he was in his actual flesh and bones; he showed them his hands and feet and ate a piece of broiled fish before them.³³ The same great interest is shown in John for, although Jesus came into the place of assembly through the closed door, he showed the disciples his hands and his side; and later the same

incident is repeated for the benefit of Thomas who had been skeptical.³⁴ From Paul to John, therefore, there is a very clear development in the description of the body of Jesus after the resurrection.

That does not mean that Paul did not believe in a physical resurrection or that Mark did not, for the prevalent Jewish belief involved a bodily resurrection. The significance of the development is rather that a controversy arose in the church about the nature of the resurrection body of Jesus, which led to the materialization of the appearances as they were described in the records. The great message of the early church, was that Jesus had risen from the dead, but difficulty was encountered when the preaching was carried beyond the narrower limits of the Jewish circles who already held to the idea of physical resurrection. Greeks generally rejected this Jewish doctrine. They believed in personal survival and in spiritual immortality, but not in the resurrection of the flesh. The first manifestation of the conflict which grew out of these divergent conceptions was the faction in the church at Corinth which rejected the belief in the resurrection of the body. It was not a question of the rejection of the idea of personal immortality. This incident at Corinth is no doubt typical of what happened at many places in the churches where Greeks had been converted. The struggle over Docetism lies behind the Johannine literature. All of these writings are concerned with the heresy of those who deny that Jesus really came in the flesh.³⁵ That controversy lay behind the Fourth Gospel especially. This writer is very careful to show that Christ actually lived in the flesh.³⁶ The controversy over the nature of the body of the risen Lord naturally presented the dilemma of Docetism and Ebionism. It involved the doctrine of the person of Jesus. Either Jesus was God or he was

man; he could not be both at the same time. That was what the philosopher faced; and both views were heretical in the eyes of the church, which held to a combination of the two by saying that Jesus was both God and man, that he was God incarnate. This doctrine finds its expression in John,³⁷ but comes to its great culmination only in the second century, when the most realistic views of the bodily resurrection of Jesus, as well as of all believers at a future time, came to be expressed.

It is in the light of this controversy that we can understand the constant tendency to materialize the descriptions of the post-resurrection appearances of Jesus to the disciples. At the same time, we can see that the narratives increased in functional value for all those who were used to thinking in terms of the popular conceptions. There were innumerable stories both in Judaism and in Hellenism of divinities who had assumed the form of men and appeared at various times to mankind. To all of those who were used to thinking in such terms the materialization of the body of the risen Jesus was a most natural and useful process. Moreover, these narratives of the risen Jesus had great value in portraying to the disciples the activities of Jesus, as Lord of the Christian community in constant fellowship and communion with those who believed in him. On the basis of these stories they could conceive of his presence at the breaking of bread, at any of the gatherings of the church, or with the individual disciples as they went about the day's work.

As to the question of the actual origin of the appearance narratives, we have the historical facts of the vision experiences as the basis from which the development took its beginning. There can be no doubt that some of the disciples really saw visions of Jesus after he had been placed in the grave. The nature of those visions has been

discussed. It is possible that some of the narratives in the present form of the story do not represent the original experiences of the disciples; but the original experiences formed a nucleus around which the present narratives grew up. The growth of the narratives then was promoted by the developing interests within the church. In addition to those appearances properly belonging to the narratives of the post-resurrection activities of Jesus, the transfiguration of Jesus may be mentioned (Mark 9:2-8), and so may also the walking upon the waters of the Sea of Galilee (Mark 6:45 ff.). These may be further specimens of the vision narratives, which, in the light of the resurrection faith, have been projected backward into the life of Jesus, in the attempt to reconstruct the life of Jesus in terms consonant with the exalted conception of him that arose out of their new faith, after the disciples came to believe that Jesus had risen from the dead. The walking upon the sea is in line with all the evidence which indicates that the first vision experience took place on the Sea of Galilee after the disciples had gone back to their nets. The influence of this tendency to reconstruct the whole life of Jesus from the point of view of the resurrection faith is very strong in the Fourth Gospel, where Jesus from the beginning of the world had the qualities that in the other Gospels were acquired and ascribed to him only as a result of his triumph over the grave.

v

It has been shown by various investigators that the great commission (Matt. 28:18-20), which occurs as a feature of the appearance narratives, came at a time later than Jesus, when the church had become separate from Judaism proper and, after being cast out by the Jews, was forced to enter the field of gentile missions to find a new

and permanent home.³⁸ The commission bears every evidence of the age after the mission to the gentiles had become fully established. The mission was given validity by being projected back to the authority of Jesus himself, although there is no clear evidence that Jesus ever intended to set up a separate church, and certainly, there is no evidence that he contemplated a gentile mission. At the same time, one sees the great functional value of the commission to go into all the world. It gave the certainty of authority to the disciples themselves and more dignity to their message in the eyes of those whom it was intended to win to the Christian Lord. In like manner, it gave the preaching of the gospel its place in the rôle which prophecy had prepared for Judaism. From time immemorial the Jews had considered themselves God's chosen people; they had cherished the dream of being permitted at some time to have the rule over the nations; and the prophets had foretold expressly that a time would come when the Messiah should establish his throne in Jerusalem and rule all the world from the Holy City as his capital. As the early Christian missionaries went throughout the world with their message, they conceived of their mission in the light of these Messianic prophecies. The Messiah had actually come; and now he had sent out the message of salvation from Jerusalem. Instead of the temporal dream which the old prophets had in mind about the reign of the Messiah, they saw the spiritual sovereignty of Christ over mankind, and looked forward to his return to take up the glorified political reign in Jerusalem. All of this allegory found a great use in the early church. The point of view was in harmony with the tendency to project later developments back to a time of glorious beginnings in Jerusalem; and it was not difficult to feel that the liberal and spiritual attitude of Jesus may really have anticipated

a mission to the nations beyond the borders of Palestine. It was the way the early disciples maintained their faith in the victory which Jesus had won by the power of God; and thus this feature of the appearance narratives attained a value for them which was indispensable.

VI

The ascension is a part of the narrative of the risen Lord which arose out of the belief that Jesus, after the resurrection, was seated at the right hand of God. It presents to the popular mind the way in which Jesus, who possessed his physical body after the resurrection, went up to heaven. The origin of the idea presents no difficulties in the light of the similar beliefs which prevailed in that age. In the Jewish traditions, there were the stories of Enoch and Elijah, who had gone up to heaven in their physical bodies without death. In the Greek world there were the stories of Melcarth of Tyre, Sandan of Tarsus and Hercules, all of whom had burned themselves on funeral pyres and had gone up to heaven in the smoke.³⁹ In the Emperor cult, which was popular at the very time when the Christian movement was fighting for its life, the *apotheosis* of the emperor was a familiar phenomenon. Justin states, "And what of the emperors who die among yourselves, whom you deem worthy of deification, and in whose behalf you produce some one who swears he has seen the burning Caesar rise to heaven from the funeral pyre?"⁴⁰ These examples of the ascension phenomena in Jewish, Greek and Roman religions show how easily the story of the ascension of Jesus grew, and what a great functional value it had for the disciples who were familiar with these ways of thinking. The ascension of Jesus has much in common with the story of the ascension of Moses as told by Josephus.⁴¹

VII

The origin of the Pentecost representation of the coming of the Holy Spirit upon the apostles and disciples who were assembled in Jerusalem, and of the preaching of the first sermon to the multitudes, with a large ingathering of souls into the kingdom of God, is to be explained as the result of several converging influences. The speaking in foreign tongues upon that occasion, so that all of the persons there, representing many different languages and dialects, could understand, is clearly the heightening of the ecstatic phenomena, which were characteristic of the Pauline communities, until the scene became really a great linguistic miracle. The ecstatic experience would afford the basis of the growing tradition. It is not necessary even to suppose that there was an actual historical ecstatic phenomenon on this particular occasion in Jerusalem; it is rather doubtful that such was the case, seeing that these phenomena were characteristic of the gentile rather than the Jewish churches. But there was a first sermon preached by some one, most likely by the leader of the group, who was Peter; and the later ecstatic phenomena with which all the gentile churches were familiar afforded the means for the glorification of the beginning. At the preaching of the first sermon the gospel had been heard by every nation under heaven and in their native tongues. That was a glorious ushering in of the kingdom of God; and it is to be connected with the belief that the gospel must be preached to every nation before the kingdom would come.⁴²

The function of the Pentecost outpouring of the Spirit, in the rationale of the resurrection narrative, as has been seen already, was to set forth the return of the Lord to his disciples. The Pauline churches held the belief of the

indwelling of the Lord through the agency of the Spirit which they possessed;⁴³ the Gospel of Matthew relates the promises of Jesus to be in the midst of every Christian assembly and to remain with his disciples always;⁴⁴ the Fourth Gospel has many promises of Jesus that he will return and take up his abode in the disciples;⁴⁵ and in all of these conceptions the Lord is identified with the Spirit. The coming of the Spirit on Pentecost is also to be connected with the power of speaking by the inspiration of the Spirit in preaching and in times of crisis, such as in trials before the courts for their faith, which the disciples possessed.⁴⁶ The imagery of the scene, the coming of the Spirit with a sound like the roar of a mighty wind and with flames of fire, is familiar both in Jewish and Greek literature. Wind was often used as a symbol of the divine presence in Jewish thought;⁴⁷ and fire as a Jewish symbol found frequent use in such connections.⁴⁸ And similar usages as these occur both in Homer and Virgil.⁴⁹ The material for the construction of the scene in the growing tradition of the early church was at hand therefore both in Judaism and outside. The Christians of course gave the interpretation of the event in terms of the prophecies which looked forward to this very occurrence. The great passage was from Joel.⁵⁰

The dating of this great beginning, when the church was founded and the kingdom was ushered in, has both a historical basis and a very appropriate symbolism. This was the harvest festival of Pentecost, when multitudes would gather in the holy city. The throngs of pilgrims would afford the opportunity for the Christian preachers to begin their work of evangelization. The first-fruits offering was made on the day after the Sabbath of the feast of Unleavened Bread, and Pentecost, seven weeks later, celebrated both the first-fruits offering and the completed

harvest (Ex. 34:22; 23:16; Num. 28:26; Dt. 16:10). The Christian symbolism of the festival is clear. Jesus was the "first-fruits of them that are asleep" and was raised up by the resurrection as an offering to God at the very time when the first-fruits offering was made at Passover (I Cor. 15:20 f.). At Pentecost converts were made from "devout men from every nation under heaven" (Acts 2:5). The Christian festival would celebrate both the beginning and the end of the world-wide harvest. In the early church it did in fact become primarily a joyous first-fruits celebration. It is in the light of the international Jewish celebration at Jerusalem, of the ecstatic speaking and spirit possession in the Greek churches, of the familiar symbolism of the first-fruits and harvest festival, and of the world-wide progress of the Christian mission when the book of Acts was written, that we can see the value and significance of this crowning feature of the early Christian cult story.

The symbolism of Pentecost in rabbinic Judaism may also be noted here, although the material cannot be precisely dated. Jews celebrated this festival as the day when Moses gave the Law at Sinai.⁵¹ Christians could see in this event a new Sinai. Rabbis were also familiar with tongues of fire. Flames had appeared about the heads of rabbis engaged in the study of the Torah.⁵² Another parallel tradition related that when the Torah was given the voice of God was heard by all peoples of the earth at the same time.⁵³

The story of Pentecost arose at a time when the great heroes of the early church were already surrounded with a halo of glory and the beginning of the movement was looked upon as a time of special manifestation of the divine presence and power. The disciples looked back with longing to the golden age of the past, when all things were

glorious, when there was great generosity in the church, when there was no lack of the necessities of life, when God wrought with his people both to preach and to heal with his mighty power; and the function of the story was to lead men to strive again for those ideal conditions, which had prevailed in the early days before the goodness and generosity and spiritual consciousness of the church had begun to wane. This glorification of the past is in harmony with the general tendency of the early Christian tradition to move the place of beginning from Galilee to Jerusalem. It is evident that the first vision experiences of the new faith took place in Galilee, but as time passed by the Galilean origin was considered too humble. It was replaced, therefore, by the events which are related to have occurred in Jerusalem, the holy city of the Jewish nation and the place where prophecy had foretold that the Messianic king would sit upon his throne and send out his law for the nations. So by the time Luke wrote the Acts, Jerusalem was regarded as the place of origin of this Messianic kingdom; it was the city from which the new gospel had sounded forth; and, thus, Pentecost could naturally occur nowhere else.

VIII

Now in all the development of the narratives of the resurrection of Jesus from the dead, room has been left for the process of syncretism, which was so general in the first centuries of the Christian era. There are numerous parallels between this story in the church and similar stories in the various cults. It is well recognized now that many features of these stories were the common property of the cults which served the peoples around the Mediterranean. This does not mean falsification or deliberate borrowing on the part of any of the cults, although that did

no doubt occur at times. The religions were matters of too much vital concern for such an artificial process to account for the origin of their cult stories. The process of adaptation by the cults of the same stories about their divinities was more likely due to the fact that many persons either belonged to more than one cult at the same time or were converted from one to another at some time during their lives. In such a process the normal procedure would be to carry over from one system to another all those features of ritual, ceremonies and rites which did not obviously clash with the newly adopted cult and, thus, raise a problem that would make it necessary to discard the older technique.

Modern psychology explains human conduct in such transitions—where one ostensibly breaks radically with the past and enters upon a new type of life entirely, but, in reality, changes only those phases of his conduct that are positively necessary to be changed to meet the new situation that is faced, and carries over most of his old ways of reacting unaltered—through the persistence of emotional attitudes, which have been set up in the past and are carried over from the old state into the new, unconsciously on the part of the person involved, simply by virtue of their own momentum. The inertia of the emotional organization of human nature cannot be overcome instantaneously. Only those changes in conduct are made that are absolutely necessary in the face of some definite problem that has arisen. As problems arise involving every phase of conduct, the possibility of a complete change of attitudes appears. But such problems do not arise all at one time; and if they did, the human organism would be unable to react in any other than an incoherent and chaotic way. In the cases of syncretism in the early church, it is obvious that many of the ways of reaction already es-

tailed were just as appropriate in the new relation as in the old; and that the continuing momentum of the old-established habits persisted undisturbed. The convert took many of his old needs and methods of satisfaction—terminology, symbols, stories—with him into the new religion.

This phenomenon of human conduct accounts for the interchange of various features of ritual and also for the passing over of all sorts of doctrinal conceptions from one cult to another. It accounts for the contribution made by Judaism to Christianity and for the debts which the Christian movement owed to the various religions of the Graeco-Roman world outside of Judaism. This appears to be the explanation of the development of the elaborate syncretism of the time.

Perhaps the best examples of the way in which the syncretism was developed is the case of the Greek gods which were adopted by the Romans, or were identified with the gods of the Romans. The only difference was one of name. The same functions and satisfactions persevered. And we may be certain that in many cases, when pagans were converted to the Christian Lord, the ways of thinking and the technique of satisfaction were brought along; and that the only change was one of devotion to a new name. The Christian Lord would have the same functional value for the new convert that Attis or Adonis or Osiris had had for him in the earlier days. That was of necessity true. We are learning now that human nature is composed largely of habits, and that a habit is the result of the repetition of the same act a sufficient number of times. Moreover, in the process of habit formation a definite correlation and organization of nerve structure takes place, which cannot be undone except by a long corrective process similar to that which caused the formation of the

habit. The nature of habit, of character, therefore, makes it impossible to change the needs and satisfactions of a man in an instant of time, or the qualities of his religious experiences by the sudden transition of his devotion from one cult to another.

On such a basis as this it is obvious that much syncretism was necessary in order to meet the needs of the great masses who surged through that world in search of salvation, trying out the gospels of the various cults in the quest for permanent satisfaction. Such a process accounts for whatever was taken up by the church out of the cults with which it came in contact. It accounts for the fact that a movement which sprang up out of Judaism, which was ethical and legal in emphasis, sometimes manifested the philosophical or ecstatic mysticism which characterized the religions and philosophies of the Greek world. It accounts for the taking over of parts of its cult story, of certain of its cult practices, such as Passover and the Lord's Day, and of the technique of mystical sacramentalism. This point of view explains the process of syncretism without making use of an hypothesis of deliberate borrowing and makes of the process a vital religious experience and places the phenomenon within the range of conduct—personal habits, attitudes, character—that is grounded in functional bases. But, more than that, it affords an explanation of the rise of early Christianity as a vital social movement, ministering to the needs of its converts as it made its way through the Mediterranean world.

IX

Another point of view for considering this material is that it is similar to folk-lore. That does not mean that the material is not historical, though it does imply that the

primary interest is not historical; rather, it means that this material was developed by the concerted influence of a group of persons who were giving expression to certain fundamental longings and methods of satisfaction and religious ideals, which were the common possession of the group and were treasured to such an extent that they were eventually handed down in literary form. Such material has been the possession of all peoples who have developed a group consciousness; it has characterized all the great religions. It was thus that much of the Old Testament arose; it was in this way that many of the ancient Greek poems were handed down; and it was thus that the cult stories of the Greek world came into existence and were passed from generation to generation. In this sense the great religious literature has more of the nature of folk poetry than of scientific history, for it is the product of the emotional yearnings of a people rather than of the deliberate processes of investigation of scientific minds. Such literature always partakes of the qualities of epic poetry and acquires the significance of the religious mythus. It usually has certain well marked characteristics, such as doubles of the same narrative, the appearance of characters in twos and threes, etc.⁵⁴ Such phenomena occur in the narratives with which we are dealing, as, for example, the rôles of Peter and the beloved disciple, the story of the two disciples going to Emmaus, the double of the appearance of the angel at the tomb in Matthew, the dual tradition of individual and group appearances recorded by Paul,⁵⁵ and, probably, the development of the same tradition into the transfiguration and ascension scenes.

It is necessary to study the story of the resurrection of Jesus from the dead with all of the exactness and rigor of the empirical scientific method, but that method can

present only an introduction to a body of material which was never intended to be scientific history in the modern sense, but grew up out of the hearts of persons who were engaged in religious living. It can never be understood except as a work of art—and that not of a deliberate and conscious type, but of the kind that springs up unconsciously and naturally, but inevitably, out of the depths of the human soul, in all of its manifold efforts to interpret the ultimate forces and experiences of life—which is always a symbol of something that cannot be made articulate in words. The most obvious result of the application of the historical method to the narrative of the resurrection of Jesus from the dead is the evidence that this story is not history in the usual sense, but that it partakes of the qualities of poetry and mythus. It may be, after all, therefore, in a more genuine sense, the most real and accurate and adequate kind of history that can be written.

X

On the other hand, however, there are definite literary motifs present in the narratives of the resurrection of Jesus. There is the conscious attempt to make the story into a great martyrology. The martyr motif had an important bearing on the origin of our Gospels.⁵⁶ This type of literature was an important technique of social control in Judaism at least from the time of the Maccabees on. In times of crisis and great persecution, this type of story was of great use. That was true in the early church also. The primary rôle of Jesus in the Gospel of Mark is that of martyr. Mark thus functioned well in the days following the reign of Nero and during the remaining years of the first century; and the interest came to its culmination in Ignatius. So in harmony with this motif in Mark, Jesus went to his death after being forsaken by all his

friends and finally by God himself. The picture was made as dark as possible in order to give the story of the resurrection greater prominence by way of contrast. All of the humiliation and struggles through which Jesus was forced to go are a preparation for the supreme climax of the majestic drama of his resurrection from the dead. Neither section of the passion story would be complete without the other. The presence of this definite dramatic motif allows room for the entrance of the personal interest of the one who reduced the narrative to writing, that is, for the personal equation of the redactor.

There are many evidences of the work of the various redactors at different stages of the growth of the narratives. Certain elaborations which came late are clearly of such a nature. The present conclusion of Mark is an example; the quaint Western addition in Luke about the size of the stone which twenty men could hardly roll is another;⁵⁷ and the Western non-interpolations are all examples of the same phenomenon. Most of the material contained in the late uncanonical passion stories is purely the work of romantic and pious imagination; and such is the case of all the modern versions of the passion. All of these examples are shown to be late inventions on a textual basis. But the evidence of the redactor's hand enters even earlier. In the revisions of Mark, which we call Matthew and Luke, we can trace the work of those two redactors by a simple comparison of the different versions of the various incidents. And Luke had access to still a different version of the passion.⁵⁸ In the face of this evidence, therefore, we must leave room for a considerable influence of the redactor in shaping the material which had been formed by those who had gone before him, and also for making changes to suit his interpretation of the gospel story.

xi

In the process which produced the narratives of the resurrection of Jesus from the dead, therefore, there was the constant interaction of the combined influences of the worshiping group of a vital religious movement with the creative originality of individual interpreters of the gospel message and of certain redactors of the gospel story. But the individual in each case was a member of a group and was shaping the narrative so that it would be satisfactory not only to himself, but also to the group of which he was a member. The fact that his individual contribution survived is proof that it represented the interests of many others besides himself. It was impossible for one to live in a group without being a vital part of its life; his way of thinking and his religious quests would be much the same as those of the persons with whom he lived; and thus the contributions which a single person made to the narrative of the resurrection may be traced eventually back to the cult process, which was really the controlling influence in the growth of the story. In reality the personality of the individual, so intimately related to the society in which he lives, merges, in a large measure, in the collective life and spirit of the group itself; and the cult life is thus the combination of the individualities of all those who belong to it into one large movement that is unified by its common needs and satisfactions and ideals. So the narrative of the resurrection of Jesus, although it shows the clear evidence of the hands of individual redactors, is very truly the product of the whole cult life which it served.

The function of the narrative of the resurrection of Jesus is shown by its use in the early preaching, by its use in connection with the celebration of baptism, the Lord's

Supper and Passover, and as a basis for the Christology and theology of the early church. It is evident that the story was told over and over in the various functions of the life of the church; and that it grew up as it was told. After all other influences have been considered, which may have had a part in determining the form and content of the narrative, we must conclude that the use of the material as a story, or as a sermon, which was told so many times, was the most powerful factor in determining its form. The length of the narrative had to be suited to the time which was devoted to worship; and it had to be long enough, but not too long, to present its message in an impressive way, and to leave it in the minds of the worshipers. Naturally those features which were effective for attaining the ends of Christian worship were those which survived, and those which were not effective disappeared. The story grew and survived on the basis of its own merit and efficacy; and the test by which the narrative was measured was its capacity to satisfy the religious life of those who used it. The final canon, therefore, by which the narrative of the resurrection of Jesus was given validity for the early church was its functional value, its capacity to satisfy the manifold religious quests which sprang up out of the complex life of that world.

Moreover, the influence of the story of the resurrection which was so tremendous in the early church has steadily increased with the centuries. It has cast a radiance into the lives of all the nations by bearing testimony to the quality of spiritual life which Jesus himself attained, in his own personal experience of God, and by illuminating the way for all those who have desired to be his disciples.

“The Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared to Simon!”

THE END

NOTES

CHAPTER I

¹ Georg Bertram, *Die Leidensgeschichte Jesu und der Christuskult* (1922).

² B. W. Bacon, *The Apostolic Message* (1926), pp. 121 f.; M. Dibelius, *Geschichte der urchristlichen Literatur* (1926), I, 32 ff.

³ E. S. Ames, *The Psychology of Religious Experience* (1910), pp. 152 ff.

⁴ Eusebius, *H. E.* iii. 39. 14-15.

⁵ B. W. Bacon, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

⁶ *Apol.* 67.

⁷ *Eph.* 13:1.

⁸ *Phil.* 3:3; 4:1.

⁹ *Eph.* 20:1.

¹⁰ *Didaché*, 10, 14.

¹¹ Pliny's *Epistolae* x. 96.

¹² *Apol.* 65, 66, 67; cf. also, *Dialogus* 41.

¹³ *Rom.* 6:2-11; cf. also, *Col.* 2:12-13; 3:1.

¹⁴ *Acts* 8:26-40.

¹⁵ *Acts* 16:23-34.

¹⁶ *Didaché* vii.

¹⁷ *Luke* 24:53; *Acts* 2:46.

¹⁸ *Acts* 21:17-26; 20:16.

¹⁹ *Mark* 14:25, and parallels.

²⁰ Eusebius *H. E.* v. 23-25.

²¹ *Ibid.* v. 23:2.

²² *Exod.* 12:26-27; *Lev.* 23; *Num.* 9; *Deut.* 16.

²³ *Apol.* 21-22.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 25.

²⁵ Macchioro, *Zagreus* (1930).

CHAPTER II

¹ *Mt* 28:13.

² *Dialogus* 108.

³ *De spectaculis* 30.

⁴ Joseph Klausner, *Jesus of Nazareth*, (1925), p. 48ff. gives this story and says that the *Tol' doth Yeshu* in its present form is not older than the tenth century. It reflects the controversy between Jews and Christians during the Middle Ages.

⁵ *The Life of Jesus*, (1904), p. 493ff.

⁶ *The Historical Evidence for the Resurrection of Christ*, (1907), p. 253.

⁷ A. Schweitzer, *Quest of the Historical Jesus*, (1910), p. 20ff.

⁸ Arthur Drews, *The Christ Myth*.

⁹ Origen *Contra Celsum*. II. 55.

¹⁰ Schweitzer, *op. cit.*, pp. 46, 53, 62, etc.

¹¹ *The Life of Jesus*, 1844, p. 412.

¹² Acts 1:3; Mt. 27:52-53; Gospel of Peter v; Luke 24:50.

¹³ E. J. Goodspeed, *AJT*, vol. IX, (1905), p. 486f. and *New Solutions of New Testament Problems*, (1929), pp. 116-123, reconstructs the lost conclusion of Mark From Matthew on the basis of Matthew's use of Mark, giving a Galilean appearance to the eleven. This does not seem adequate because it does not provide for the appearance to Peter alone indicated in 16:7 and preserved as though by accident in Luke 24:34. Peter's vision preceded that of the eleven. Another acute suggestion for the restoration of Mark's conclusion was made by B. W. Bacon, *AJT*, Vol. XV, (1911), on the basis of the Gospel of Peter and the Johannine Appendix.

¹⁴ Cf. S. V. McCasland, "The Origin of the Lord's Day," *JBL*, XLIX, (1930), p. 65ff.

¹⁵ Schmiedel, *Ency. Bib.* col. 4079 says that $\omega\phi\theta\eta$ always stands for another kind of seeing than that of ordinary sense perception.

¹⁶ M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, (1924), p. 3.

¹⁷ Cf. S. J. Case, *The Historicity of Jesus*, (1912), pp. 15, 277ff., on the place of visions in the faith of the early disciples.

¹⁸ I Cor. 15:1-8.

¹⁹ Lyder Brun, *Die Auferstehung Christi in der urchristlichen Überlieferung*, Oslo, (1925), p. 33; Harnack, *Sitzungsbericht der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, vii, (1922), p. 62f.

²⁰ James, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

²¹ For a study of the history of the struggle over who had the first vision in the early church, cf. Albertz, *ZNTW*, (1922), pp. 259-269, 264-267.

²² The statement in the late conclusion of Mark that he arose and appeared first to Mary Magdalene quite clearly does not represent the historical sequence of events, or, at least, it certainly does not represent the Christophany which became the basis of the belief in the resurrection, and therefore, the foundation of the Christian preaching. Mark's own record of the silence of the women precludes both the historicity of the event and any significance that it may have had; moreover this statement is clearly drawn from the Christophany to Mary given in John, a picturesque rendering of that to the women in Matthew, which is a double of the angelophany that itself is heightened from the "young man" of Mark.

²³ *Op. cit.*, p. 169.

²⁴ Mk 1:29.

²⁵ 14:58-59. James, *op. cit.* pp. 93-94. Mark's narrative of Jesus' walking on the sea in the fourth watch of the night (6:45-52) may be a survival of the first or a subsequent appearance of the risen Jesus on the sea of Galilee, after the disciples had returned to their nets, which has been projected backward into his lifetime. Cf. Gardner-Smith, *The Narratives of the Resurrection*, (1926), pp. 140-170.

²⁶ Cf. W. Baldensperger, *Urchristliche Apologie*, (1909), p. 33. F. C. Burkitt has suggested that the lost conclusion of Mark contained a statement of how the disciples started for Galilee, but were turned back by a vision of the risen Lord while they were near Jerusalem, but the suggestion does not adequately account for the survival of the Galilean tradition. Cf. Jackson-Lake, *Beginnings of Christianity*, II, (1922), p. 171.

²⁷ Chapter V.

²⁸ Eusebius *H. E.* V. 23-25.

²⁹ Josephus *Vita* 52.

³⁰ Strack-Billerbeck, II, pp. 147-148.

³¹ Cf. B. W. Bacon, *op. cit.*, 402ff.; *Apostolic Message*, 1926, pp. 133-134.

³² James, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-94.

³³ Chapter III.

CHAPTER III

¹ *Jesus of Nazara* (1883), Vol. vi, p. 364.

² F. W. H. Meyers, *Human Personality and its Survival beyond the Grave*; Lodge, *Hibbert Journal*, April 1908; Hoffman, *Das Geheimnis der Auferstehung Christi* (1925).

³ George A. Coe, *The Psychology of Religion*, 1918, p. 292.

⁴ Lake, *The Historical Evidence for the Resurrection of Christ*, 1907, p. 265.

⁵ Coe, *op. cit.*, p. 202; Lake; *op. cit.*, pp. 253ff.

⁶ Bruce, *Apologetics* (1892), p. 393.

⁷ Schmiedel, *Ency. Bib.* col. 4078. But note my own estimate of the limitation of the present scientific method at the close of this chapter.

⁸ Mark 16:7 indicates that Peter's vision was in Galilee; the Johannine appendix and the Gospel of Peter (xiv:60, M. R. James, pp. 90ff.) indicate that Peter was back with his nets again when the vision occurred. Gardner-Smith, *The Narratives of the Resurrection* (1926), pp. 140-170, has a good discussion of the point involved here.

⁹ Cf. Zaugg, *A Study of the Spirit-Phenomena in the NT*, 1917, p. 23, "It is clear that in many ways the ancient Hebrews had the

same ideas of spirits and the same psychology as the other ancient peoples." He shows that this is true also of the later times.

¹⁰ Gen. 2:7.

¹¹ Gen. 49:33 *et al.*

¹² I Sam. 28:13.

¹³ Tobit 8:2ff.; Josephus *Ant.* VIII. II. 5; cf. Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum N. T.*, Vol. I, pp. 2, 9, 300; Vol. II, pp. 71, 526, 760, 891; Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums etc.* (1906), pp. 381-394.

¹⁴ Cf. iii. 56; iv. 20; v. 25; vi. 26-27.

¹⁵ I Sam. 28:8-13.

¹⁶ iv. 172.

¹⁷ *Contra Celsum* ii. 60.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* ii. 61.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* vii. 35.

²⁰ *Ibid.* v. 57.

²¹ *De anima* 57.

²² Baldensperger, *Urchristliche Apologie*, 1909, p. 12.

²³ *Philopseudes* 17, 27, 30, 31; cf. Tertullian *De anima* 57.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 13, 29, 30, etc.

²⁵ Baldensperger, *op. cit.*, 12.

²⁶ *Bellum VI.* I. 5.

²⁷ *De anima* 56-57.

²⁸ *Philop.* 29.

²⁹ Matthew 14:2; 16:14.

³⁰ *Roman History* I. 1; Tertullian *Apol.* 21.

³¹ Herodotus iv. 14, 15; Origen *Contra Celsum* iii. 24-26.

³² Dion Cassius lxxix. 18.

³³ Cf. the question in S. J. Case, *Jesus, a New Biography*, (1927), pp. 326-387. Also, in E. F. Scott, *The Kingdom and the Messiah*, (1911), pp. 209-244.

³⁴ It is impossible here to enter into the problems of the three days motif and of the origin of the observance of Sunday as the resurrection day. Cf. Chapters V and VI.

³⁵ Matthew 16:16.

³⁶ Matthew 14:2; 16:16.

³⁷ Stafford, *The Function of Divine Manifestations in NT Times*, (1919), p. 109.

³⁸ Acts 16:9.

³⁹ *Vita* 8, 31.

⁴⁰ Cf. *CIG*, no. 5980, 15ff.

⁴¹ Grenfell and Hunt, *Ox. Pap.* xi, pp. 230ff., 2nd century A. D. For a very instructive discussion of healings in the Hellenistic world, cf. S. J. Case, *The Journal of Religion*, Vol. iii, No. 3, May, 1923.

⁴² Mark's narrative of Jesus' walking on the sea in the fourth

watch of the night (6:45-52) may be a survival of the first, or of a subsequent, vision of the risen Jesus, that has been projected backward into his lifetime. It points also to Galilee as the place where the visions occurred, and possibly to the fishermen at their nets.

CHAPTER IV

¹ Luke, 22:31-32.

² *The Apostolic Message*, 1926, pp. 230ff.

³ E. F. Scott, *The Kingdom and the Messiah* (1911); also, *The first Age of Christianity* 1926.

⁴ Cf. S. J. Case, *Jesus, a New Biography*, (1927), pp. 360-378.

⁵ Acts, 2:23.

⁶ Luke 24:26, 44-46.

⁷ Heb. 2:10.

⁸ Heb. 5:9.

⁹ Heb. 12:2; I Pet. 1:11.

¹⁰ *The Evolution of Early Christianity*, (1914), pp. 108ff.

¹¹ Gal. 2:20.

¹² II Cor. 3:17.

¹³ I Cor. 3:16.

¹⁴ I Cor. 10:21.

¹⁵ Jno. 14:16-18.

¹⁶ Jno. 14:23.

¹⁷ Mat. 18:20.

¹⁸ Mat. 28:19.

¹⁹ H. R. Willoughby, *Pagan Regeneration* (1929).

²⁰ Cf. *Atlantic Monthly*, Feb., 1925, for excavations revealing a temple of Bacchus at Beth Shean from the Roman period.

²¹ Case, *op. cit.*, preface, vi.

²² Cf. the prologue to the Fourth Gospel.

²³ Phil. 2:6.

²⁴ Lidzbarski, *Das Johannisbuch der Mandäer*, 1915; *Die Liturgien*, 1920; *Das Ginza*, 1925, Bultmann, ZNTW, 1925, 24, 1/2, pp. 100ff.; Reitzenstein, ZNTW, 1927, 26, 1, pp. 39-70, etc.

²⁵ I Enoch 62:7.

²⁶ III Kings 4:37; I Kings 17:22; II Kings 13:21.

²⁷ Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar Zum NT.* (II), (1922), p. 523: In some authorities it is the prerogative of God to raise the dead, but in others the righteous have that power, and examples of rabbis exercising this power are given for about 190 A.D., 225 A.D., and 330 A.D.

²⁸ *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana* iv. 45; Pliny *Nat. Hist.* VII. xxxvii. 52; Apuleius *Florida* 19; Origen *Contra Celsum* II. lv.

²⁰ Acts 2:27; I Pet. 3:19; 4:6; Gospel of Peter 9:34ff.; Acta Pilati.

²¹ Mat. 12:40.

²² Acts 2:27.

²³ *Morals, Socrates' Demon*, Goodwin ed. ii, p. 407ff.

²⁴ Bib. Hist. iv. 25, 26, 63.

²⁵ II. 122.

²⁶ IV. 93, 95, 96.

²⁷ *Contra Celsum* II. 1v.

²⁸ Gen. 5:24.

²⁹ Deut. 34:6.

³⁰ II Kings, 2:11.

³¹ Justin *Apol.* xxi.

³² Jno. 16:7.

³³ I Cor. 3:16; II Cor. 3:17.

CHAPTER V

¹ IX, 35. M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (1924), p. 92.

² *Didaché* xiv; Ignatius *Mag.* ix; Barnabus xv. 8-9, etc.

³ 15, 2, Goodspeed ed. p. 19.

⁴ *Dialogus* 97; and 100.

⁵ X. 41 and XIII. 56; M. R. James, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

⁶ Eus. *H. E.* V. xxiii. 1-2.

⁷ XIV 59-60. Their sorrow indicates that Jesus had not yet risen; or, at least, that they did not know of it.

⁸ *Apol.* 21. Cf. B. W. Bacon, *AJT*, XV, 1911, pp. 372-403; also G. Bertram, *Festgabe für Deissmann*, 1926, pp. 187ff., "Die Himmelfahrt Jesu vom Kreuz aus und der Glaube an seine Auferstehung."

⁹ *Texte und Untersuchungen*, NF, 10, Heft 2, p. 105ff.

¹⁰ Cf. Clayton R. Bowen, *The Resurrection in the New Testament* (1911), pp. 18-19; also Kirsopp Lake, *The Resurrection of Jesus Christ* (1907), pp. 27-33. Bowen concludes in favor of the Hosea passage; Lake thinks that no definite passage can be found which was used in the earliest tradition.

¹¹ Bowen, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-33; Walton's *Polyglott*, vol. III; "They shall say: Come and let us return to the worship of the Lord, for he who smote us will also heal us, and he who brought upon us destruction, will revive us. He will give us life in the days of consolation which are coming, in the day of the resurrection of the dead he will resuscitate us, and we shall live before him." Cf. also, Paris *Polyglott* iv, *ad locum*.

¹² Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, I, pp. 747, 760.

¹³ Cf. *ANF*, III, pp. 421-422; *Pat. Lat.*, 2, p. 496, "Sic nec munerum illorum officium praeterit, prophetia, quae ante lucem converunt ad sepulchrum cum odorum paratura. De hac enim per Osee: Ut quaerant, inquit, faciem meam, ante lucem vigilabunt ad me, dicentes, Eamus, et convertamur ad Dominum, quia ipse eripuit, et curabit nos; percussit, et miserebitur nostrum; sanabit nos post biduum, in die tertia resurgemus."

¹⁴ *Ad Judaeos* 13; some doubt is held of the genuineness of this book. Cf. Harnack on Tertullian in the *Ency. Brit.*, 11th ed.; also Iwan Mueller's *Handbuch*, VIII, iii, pp. 302-304; but this discussion does not affect *Adversus Marcionem*.

¹⁵ *Treatises of Cyprian* I. iv. 35; II. xxv.

¹⁶ *Divine Institutes* I. v. xix; *Epitome*. xlvii.

¹⁷ I am indebted to Professor B. W. Bacon for a reference to the use of this scripture in the fifth century *Altercatio Simonis Iudaei et Theophili Christiani*, written by the Gallic monk Euagrius, which was published by Harnack in 1883 in an effort to show that it is either a translation or a revision of the *Dialogue of Jason and Papiscus*, attributed by Maximus Confessor in the seventh century to Ariston of Pella. But Harnack's position was so assailed that he admitted in 1893 (*Überlieferung*, pp. 93-95) that he had overstated his case. The most thorough and careful edition of this work is that of Eduard Bratke (1904) who concludes (Praefatio, x-xi): *Coniecturam illam de origine Altercationis factam hodie uix Harnack ipse defenderit, sed ne id quidem contendere audeam Euagrium apologiam Aristonis leguisse flosculosque ex ea excerpssisse, nam nullam uocum uel sententiarum Aristoni peculiarium certam memoriam in Altercatione reperire possum, aliorum uero scriptorum antiquorum ecclesiasticorum studio Euagrium incubuisse satis ueri simile est, inprimis ex operibus Tertulliani et Cypriani nec non ex homiliis, quae "Tractatus Origenis" uocantur, libellum suum contexisse uidetur, etc.* The literature on this problem is cited in Otto Stählin, *Geschichte der altchristlichen griechischen Literatur* (1924), p. 1283, note 3, and in Otto Bardenhewer, *Patrologie* (1910), pp. 38 and 446-447. As to the *Disputation of Jason and Papiscus* mentioned by Celsus and Origen (*Contra Celsum*, iv, 52), we do not know who wrote it or what it contained, save that some Christian writer is said to have converted a Jew by use of the scriptures.

¹⁸ Cf. The Apocalypse of Elias, *Texte und Untersuchungen*, NF, ii, (1899), pp. 127, 150, 163; Assumption of the Virgin, M. R. James, *Apoc. New Testament*, (1924), p. 196; John 11:39; Strack-Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 544-545; Böken, *Die Verwandtschaft der jüdisch-christlichen mit der parsischen Eschatologie*, (1902),

pp. 27-31; Jal Dastur Cursetji Pavry, *The Zoroastrian Doctrine of a Future Life*, (1926), pp. 9-29.

¹⁹ Hyacinth, Fraser, *Adonis, Attis and Osiris*, I, pp. 313-317; Attis, Fraser, *op. cit.*, pp. 263-276; Osiris, Fraser, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 3-23.

²⁰ Cf. Chapter VI.

²¹ Justin *Apol.* 67, refers to the statement of Genesis that the first day of creation was Sunday; and, in *Dialogue 41*, to circumcision on the eighth day.

CHAPTER VI

¹ *Mag.* 9, I.

² 15, 9.

³ *Apol.* 67.

⁴ *Dialogus 41*.

⁵ Eusebius *H. E.* V. xxiii. 1-2.

⁶ *Texte und Untersuchungen*, NF, 10, Heft 2, pp. 1-368. Cf. p. 105.

⁷ *The American Journal of Theology*, XV (1911), pp. 272-403. Cf. p. 375.

⁸ Gal. 4:10; Col. 2:16.

⁹ *Mag.* ix.

¹⁰ XV, 8-9.

¹¹ II. 59; VII. 23; VIII. 33.

¹² Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, I, p. 280; II, p. 598, etc.; ERE, V, 879b.

¹³ *De oratio 23*.

¹⁴ *Contra Celsum* viii. 22-23.

¹⁵ viii. 33.

¹⁶ *Didaché* viii.

¹⁷ Mark. 2:27; 3:4. In the Rabbinic speculation (Strack-Billerbeck, I, 1054) the first day of the week was "crowned with twelve crowns;" it was the first day of creation, for priestly service, tribal chieftains, the coming of the Shekina, etc., but this hardly had any connection with Christian Lord's Day observance.

¹⁸ ERE, "Sabbath;" "Sunday."

¹⁹ *Contra Apionem* ii. 40.

²⁰ Tibullus I. iii. 18; Ovid *Ars Amat.* i. 415; Martial IV. iv. 7; Horace *Satires* I, ix, 69; II, iii, 290; Juvenal *Satires* xiv, 90-98.

²¹ Tiberius xxxii.

²² *Strom.* V. 14.

²³ History of Rome xxxvii. 17-19.

²⁴ ERE. "Sunday;" Vol. xii, p. 104. Cf. also F. H. Colson, *The Week*, Cambridge 1926, pp. 18f., 62f.

²⁵ III. 82.

²⁶ The terms *κύριος* and *κυριακός* occur frequently earlier than the

New Testament. Cf. Moulton and Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the N. T.*

²⁷ κυριακή occurs only twice in the N. T. (I Cor. 11:20; Rev. 1:10); in both places as an adj.; but in Rev. 1:10 the expression βακυριακή ἡμέρα occurs; after the time of Didaché 14, 1, κυριακή is frequent as a substantive; and κυριακόν, church building, parallel to βακχεῖον, μιθραῖον, etc.

²⁸ *Licht vom Osten* (1923), pp. 298ff., cf. Colson, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

²⁹ *Vita Pom.* 24; *Vita Cic.* 18.

³⁰ *Apol.* 67, 7, 2.

³¹ *Das Johannisbuch der Mandäer* (1915); *Die Mandäischen Liturgien* (1920); *Das Ginza* (1925).

³² Cf. *Johannisbuch*, pp. 68, 82, 83, 96, 101, 110-111, etc.; *Ginza*, pp. 283, 285, etc.; *Liturgien*, pp. 34, 147, etc.

³³ Cf. Brandt, ERE, viii, "Mandeans"; Lidzbarski's introductions; Reitzenstein, ZNTW, (1927), xxvi, 1; Bultmann, ZNTW, (1925), xxiv, 1-2; Schaefer, *Bibliothek Warburg* (1926), pp. 203-350; Petersen, ZNTW, (1925), xxiv, 3-4; S. A. Pallis, *Mandean Studies*, Toronto (1926).

³⁴ Franz Cumont, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*. 2 vols. Bruxelles (1896-99). Cf. Vol. II, Index of titles of Mithra, p. 532.

³⁵ *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 119.

³⁶ *Contra Celsum* VI. 21.

³⁷ *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 114. The marble of Bologna.

³⁸ *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 119.

³⁹ *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 325.

⁴⁰ *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 339.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* Note 5.

⁴² Strabo *Geog.* XV. ii. 13. But cf. Colson, *op. cit.*, p. 74f.

⁴³ *I Misteri, Bologna* (1923), p. 238ff.

⁴⁴ Plutarch *Vita Pom.* 24.

⁴⁵ Cumont, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 105, Ins. 66.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, I, p. 239; Pliny *Nat. Hist.* xxx. 6.

⁴⁷ *Thebaid* I. 717.

⁴⁸ Cumont, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 106, Ins. 69.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, I, p. 245.

⁵⁰ ERE, "Mithraism." Vol. viii, p. 754.

⁵¹ J. Gilbert Smyly, Royal Irish Academy, *Cunningham Memoirs*, No. xii, *Papyri from Gurob*, pp. 36-38 (1921).

⁵² F. Cumont, *The Mysteries of Mithra*, Chicago (1910), p. 11.

⁵³ Gal. 4:10; Col. 2:16.

⁵⁴ Didaché xiv.

⁵⁵ Justin *Apol.* 67; *Dialogues* 41. Tertullian *Adv. Marc.* IV. xlivi; *Ad Judaeos* 13.

⁵⁶ Gen. 2:3; Ex. 20:11.

⁵⁷ Deut. 5:15.

⁵⁸ Ezekiel 20:12.

⁵⁹ ERE, "Sabbath." Vol. X, p. 894.

CHAPTER VII

¹ Cf. Chapter IV.

² Q is the designation for the material common to Matthew and Luke not found in Mark, presented in its most original form in Luke 3:1-9:50; 9:51-18:14; and 19:1-28. For an analysis of the materials on a literary basis, see Burton, *Some Principles of Literary Criticism and Their Application to the Synoptic Problem* (1904). Also Harnack, *Sayings of Jesus* (1908); Moffatt, *Introduction to the New Testament* (1911).

³ Luke 7:22; Mat. 11:4-5.

⁴ Luke 7:11-18.

⁵ Mat. 10:8; Luke 9:2.

⁶ Mat. 12:40; Luke 11:30.

⁷ Another alternative would be to consider Q as a Jewish document which was taken over by the church. In that case it would have existed from the beginning without a passion story. However, there seems to be no convincing argument for such an hypothesis.

⁸ 8:31; 9:31; 10:33-34; 14:28.

⁹ Cf. D. W. Riddle, *The Martyr Motif in Mark*, *Journal of Religion*, iv, (1924), pp. 397-410.

¹⁰ Mark 8:34-9:1.

¹¹ A good example of this is Ignatius in the first quarter of the second century.

¹² Matthew 16:21-28.

¹³ 12:40ff.

¹⁴ 28:19-20.

¹⁵ 27:54.

¹⁶ 28:9, 17.

¹⁷ Luke 9:22-27.

¹⁸ 18:31; 24:26-27; 24:44-46.

¹⁹ 24:27, 51.

²⁰ 24:44-46; Acts 1:8.

²¹ Acts 1:1ff.

²² Acts 2:23-28; 3:18; 8:31-35, etc.

²³ 1:9; 2:23-36; 5:31.

²⁴ 2:33-36; 5:31.

²⁵ 5:31; 13:38-39.

²⁶ 2:33.

²⁷ 3:18-26; 5:31; 10:42-43; 13:38-39.

²⁸ 5:31.

²⁹ 10:42-43; 17:31.

³⁰ 3:18-26.
³¹ 4:2.
³² 23:6.
³³ 17:18.
³⁴ 24:15; 26:23.
³⁵ Rom. 1:4.
³⁶ Col. 1:18.
³⁷ Phil. 2:5-11; Eph. 1:20-23; 4:8-9; Rom. 8:34.
³⁸ I Cor. 15:12-18; 20-23; II Cor. 4:14; I Thes. 4:14-17.
³⁹ I Thes. 1:10; 5:9; I Cor. 15:17; II Cor. 5:14-15; 19-21; Gal. 2:20-21; 3:13-19; Rom. 1:17; 3:21-28; 4:23-25; 5:1-21; 6:1-23; 7:1-25; 10:17; Eph. 1:7; 5:2, 25 Col. 1:14, 19-22.
⁴⁰ I Cor. 15:26.
⁴¹ Eph. 1:19-20.
⁴² I Cor. 2:2; 15:1-8.
⁴³ Rom. 10:17.
⁴⁴ Phil. 1:29; 2:5-11; 3:7-11.
⁴⁵ Heb. 2:9.
⁴⁶ 2:14.
⁴⁷ 2:17; 9:12; 10:11-12.
⁴⁸ 12:2-3; II.
⁴⁹ I:5.
⁵⁰ 5:10.
⁵¹ 7:14.
⁵² 22:13.
⁵³ I:18.
⁵⁴ I:5.
⁵⁵ I:18.
⁵⁶ 2:7.
⁵⁷ 2:10.
⁵⁸ 3:5; 22:13.
⁵⁹ 20:12-15; 21:4.
⁶⁰ 17:6; 2:13; 18:20; 14:13; 16:6; 6:9-11; 20:4-6.
⁶¹ Chps. 17-18.
⁶² I:18-20.
⁶³ I:3-4.
⁶⁴ 5:10.
⁶⁵ 3:12-16.
⁶⁶ 4:14-19.
⁶⁷ I Pet. 3:19; 4:6.
⁶⁸ II Pet. 1:8-11; James 1:22; 2:17.
⁶⁹ II Jno. 7. II Jno. 3; Jude 3-4.
⁷⁰ I Tim. 1:15.
⁷¹ I Tim. 3:16.
⁷² II Tim. 1:110.
⁷³ II Tim. 2:8.

⁷⁴ II Tim. 2:10; 4:18.⁷⁵ Titus 2:14.⁷⁶ I Tim. 4:1ff.⁷⁷ Titus 3:4.⁷⁸ Mark Lidzbarski, *Das Johannisbuch der Mandäer* (1915); *Die Mandäischen Liturgien* (1920); *Das Ginza* (1925). For an indication of affinity with Johannine literature, cf. R. Bultmann, ZNTW, (1925), 24, 1-2, pp. 100-146.⁷⁹ 12:24-26.⁸⁰ 8:28; 12:32; 18:11; 13:31-32; 13:27.⁸¹ 20:30-31.⁸² Prologue.⁸³ 6:27, 35, 40, 47.⁸⁴ 4:14ff.⁸⁵ II:25.⁸⁶ 19:14.⁸⁷ Prologue and Chapter 17.⁸⁸ Chp. 15.⁸⁹ 3:15-16; 4:14; 5:40; 20:31.⁹⁰ 20:30-31, etc.⁹¹ 3:3ff.⁹² 6:51.⁹³ 6:1-2.⁹⁴ 45:1-7.⁹⁵ 24:1-4.⁹⁶ 25.⁹⁷ 26 entire.⁹⁸ Didaché 7:1.⁹⁹ 14:1.¹⁰⁰ 16:6-8.¹⁰¹ Mag. 9:2; Rom. 4:3, etc.¹⁰² Rom. 2:2.¹⁰³ Rom. 4:1ff.¹⁰⁴ Mag. 9:1ff.¹⁰⁵ Tral. 9:2 et al.¹⁰⁶ Mag. 9:3.¹⁰⁷ Smyr. 3:2. "In the resurrection of Jesus an ensign has been set up for all ages, both for the Christian and the unbeliever."¹⁰⁸ Bar. 5:1.¹⁰⁹ Bar. 15:8ff.¹¹⁰ Bar. 19:2ff.¹¹¹ Vis. III. i. 9; III. v. 2; Sim. IX. xxviii. 3.¹¹² Sim. V. vi. 1-8.¹¹³ Sim. V. vi. 2-3.¹¹⁴ Vis. II. ii. 4ff.; Vis. III. iii. 5.¹¹⁵ Vis. II. ii. 1-8, etc.

¹¹⁶ Second Clement 1:4; 2:7; 3:3.

¹¹⁷ 1:4.

¹¹⁸ 3:3.

¹¹⁹ 7:6; 8:4.

¹²⁰ 7:6.

¹²¹ 8:4.

¹²² 9:1-6.

¹²³ 19:3-4; 20:2ff.

¹²⁴ 20:5.

¹²⁵ 1:2; 9:2.

¹²⁶ 2:2.

¹²⁷ 8:1.

¹²⁸ 9:1ff.

¹²⁹ 14:1.

¹³⁰ 9:2.

¹³¹ *Apol.* 21-25, 54.

¹³² *Ibid.* 54.

¹³³ *Dialogus* 106.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.* 53.

¹³⁵ *Apol.* 19.

¹³⁶ *Apol.* 67.

¹³⁷ M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (1925), p. 3.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.* p. 3.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.* p. 4.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.* p. 5.

¹⁴¹ M. R. James, *op. cit.*, p. 92-93.

¹⁴² Some modern fictions are: *The Confessions of Pontius Pilate*, East Orange, New Jersey, (1917); *The Crucifixion by an Eye-witness*, Los Angeles (1919); *The Aquarian Gospel*, Los Angeles (1922). For a critical treatment of these and other modern forgeries, see E. J. Goodspeed; *Strange New Gospels*, Chicago (1930).

CHAPTER VIII

¹ Job 3:13-22.

² 7:9, 10; 10:21-22.

³ Psa. 49:15; 73:24.

⁴ Hosea 6:2; Ezekiel 37:1-14.

⁵ Isa. 26:19.

⁶ Dan. 12:2.

⁷ Chps. 6, 22, 25, 27, 51, 91, 94, 100.

⁸ 7:9-29; 14:46.

⁹ 7:9.

¹⁰ 23:31.

¹¹ 22:22.

¹² 10:3-10.

¹³ 49, 50, 51.

¹⁴ 2:23; 8:17-20; 10:13-14; 15:3.

¹⁵ *Quod deus immut.* 10; *Mund. op.* 22; *Post. Caini* 11; *Plant.* 9; *Praem. et Poen.* 12; *De Abr.* 3-4, etc.

¹⁶ 13:16; 15:2; 18:23.

¹⁷ 8:1-8; 10:1-6; 22.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Bellum* II. viii. 14, et al.

²⁰ *Bellum* II. viii. 11, et al.

²¹ Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar z. N. T. aus Talmud und Midrasch*, Vol. I, (1922), p. 892.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 893.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 895.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 895.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 895. Cf. also pp. 747, 760, 885, 523-24. Vol. II, p. 255, etc.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, I, p. 895, cf. 896, 897.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 523.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, I, p. 523.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 560.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 524.

³¹ IV Ezra 6:25; 7:26-30; 13:52; 14:49; II Baruch 30:1.

³² IV Ezra 7:28.

³³ Psa. Sol. 17:28-31.

³⁴ *Ibid.* 17:48.

³⁵ *Ibid.* 17:41.

³⁶ *Ibid.* 17:32-34.

³⁷ *Ibid.* 17:33.

³⁸ Test. Dan. 5:8-12.

³⁹ *Ibid.* 5:12.

⁴⁰ Test. Levi 18:12.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 18:9.

⁴² *Ibid.* 18:1-14.

⁴³ IV Ezra 12:33.

⁴⁴ S. J. Case, *The Evolution of Early Christianity* (1912), pp. 284-330; Ritche, *Quests for Salvation in New Testament Times* (1922), pp. 43-64; Leipoldt, *Sterbende und auferstehende Götter* (1925); Macchioro, *Zagreus* (1930); Angus, *The Mystery Religions and Christianity* (1924); H. R. Willoughby, *Pagan Regeneration* (1929).

⁴⁵ *Light from the Ancient East* (1910), p. 105.

⁴⁶ Grenfell-Hunt, Ox. Pap. xii. p. 260, 523; ii. 115; xxi. 1484, 1385, 1110, 523, 1755, etc.

⁴⁷ I Cor. 10:20.

⁴⁸ Smyly, *Cunningham Memoirs* (1922), Vol. xii, pp. 36-38.

⁴⁹ Justin *Apol.* 21, 22, 25, 27, 54; *Dialog.* 67-70; Tertullian *Praes.* 40; *Ad. nat.* 1:13.

⁵⁰ *Apol.* 16; *De baptismo* 5.

⁵¹ V. Macchioro, *Zagreus* (1930).

⁵² Rom. 1:16.

CHAPTER IX

¹ Luke 24:34.

² Cf. *Acta Pilati*.

³ Cf. C. W. Votaw, *American Journal of Theology*, Vol. 19 (1919), pp. 45-73, 217-249.

⁴ Cf. Jno. 20:30-31; Acts 1:1ff.

⁵ Cf. Votaw, *op. cit.*, p. 219 ff.

⁶ Cf. the additions in Luke 23:53 of D, c, and the Sahidic.

⁷ The Gospel of Peter, 9:34 ff.; with this compare the interpolation in fifth century Old Latin k in Mark 16:4: subito autem ad horam tertiam tenebrae diei factae sunt per totum orbem terrae et descenderunt de caelis angeli et surgent (surgentes?) in claritate vivi dei simul ascenderunt cum eo et continuo lux facta est. Tunc illae accesserunt ad monumentum et vident revolutum lapidem fuit enim magnus nimis. (Tischendorf, ed. 8th, Vol. I., p. 402.)

⁸ The Gospel according to the Hebrews.

⁹ Peter is the witness in Luke and John.

¹⁰ Kirsopp Lake, *The Historical Evidence for the Resurrection of Jesus Christ* (1907), p. 199 ff.

¹¹ Justin *Dialogus* 70.

¹² Fraser, *Attis, Adonis, Osiris*, I, pp. 263-276.

¹³ Plutarch, *Isis and Osiris* 18.

¹⁴ Fraser, *Attis, Adonis, Osiris*, II, p. 33.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 231, 272.

¹⁶ Luke 24:44; I Cor. 15:4.

¹⁷ Acts 20:11.

¹⁸ Pliny *Epistolae* X. 96, c. 110 A. D.

¹⁹ Tertullian. *Ad nationes*. I. 13; *Apol.* 16.

²⁰ Cf. Cyprian. *Treatises*. IV. 35: "For we must also pray in the morning, that the Lord's resurrection may be celebrated by morning prayer."

²¹ Josephus *Bellum* II. viii. 5.

²² Tertullian *Apol.* 16.

²³ Philo *De vit. cont.* 3.

²⁴ Wisdom of Solomon XVI 27-28.

²⁵ *Adv. Mar.* IV. 43; *Ad Jud.* XIII.

²⁶ Matthew 12: 40; Diodorus *Bib. Hist.* IV. 25-26; Herodotus II. 122; IV. 93, 94, 95; Origen *Contra Cel.* II. lv; and many of the cult myths of the mystery religions, such as those of Orpheus, Adonis, Attis, Osiris, contained accounts of the visit of these

divinities into the underworld and of their struggles there, in which they gained a victory over the unseen powers.

²⁷ Mark 16:4.

²⁸ Mat. 28:3.

²⁹ Luke 24:4.

³⁰ John 20:12-15.

³¹ Gospel of Peter 9:34 ff.

³² Mat. 28:9.

³³ Luke 24:36-43.

³⁴ John 20:19-29.

³⁵ I Jno. 1:1 ff.; 2:22, etc.

³⁶ John 19:34-35; 20:19-29.

³⁷ John 1:14.

³⁸ A good summary of this question is contained in Sharman's *Teaching of Jesus about the Future, according to the Synoptic Gospels* (1909), p. 342 ff.

³⁹ Fraser, *Attis, Adonis, Osiris*, I, pp. 124-127.

⁴⁰ *Apol.* 21.

⁴¹ *Ant.* IV. viii. 48. Cf. C. Clemen, *Religionsgeschichtliche Erklärung des neuen Testaments* (1924), p. 259.

⁴² Mark 13:10.

⁴³ II Cor. 3:17; I Cor. 3:16-18.

⁴⁴ Mat. 18:20; 28:20.

⁴⁵ Jno. 7:39; 14:16-18.

⁴⁶ Mark 13:11.

⁴⁷ II Sam. 5:24; Psa. 104:3.

⁴⁸ Ezek. 43:2; Psa. 104:4.

⁴⁹ *Iliad* xviii. 214; *Aeneid* ii. 683.

⁵⁰ Acts 2:17-20.

⁵¹ Strack-Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, II, p. 601.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 602-603.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 354.

⁵⁴ Cf. E. Fascher, *Die formgeschichtliche Methode* (1925), p. 224 ff.

⁵⁵ I Cor. 15:1-8. Cf. B. S. Easton, *The Gospel before the Gospels*, 1928, pp. 31-55.

⁵⁶ D. W. Riddle, *The Martyrs*, 1931.

⁵⁷ This reading is found in D, c, and the Sahidic.

⁵⁸ Cf. Alfred Morris Perry, *The Sources of Luke's Passion Narrative* (1919).

APPENDIX

A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON THE RESURRECTION NARRATIVES

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